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Religion in Vijayanagara Empire

RELIGION IN VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

KONDURI SAROJINI DEVI

STERLING PUBLISHERS PRIVATE LIMITED

Dedicated to Sri Raghavendra
of
Mantralayam

FOREWORD

I am writing these lines with pleasure for the work of a colleague. 'Religion in Vijayanagar Empire' is originally the Ph.D. thesis of Dr. (Mrs.) K.Sarojini Devi now published after full revision and updating. Much new material that has come on the subject in the past few years including Hampi excavations of recent times as well as fresh interpretations have been taken into account by the scholar. The book is a comprehensive and penetrating study on the subject.

Vijayanagar Empire is a part of the historical period when politics and religion were inextricably interwoven. Yet religion cannot be understood through politics and economics only. Temple Sikharas, Gopuras and Icons are external manifestations of a spirit. Dr.Sarojini Devi has rightly devoted a chapter for 'Religious Toleration', where she lucidly attempts to clarify 'the emperors of Vijayanagar proved themselves exemplary religious missionaries, their missionary spirit, however, being not that of a proselytising narrow creed, but of a great religion.....'

Indian Heritage has become topical with 'Utsav' of India. In this context works attempting to interpret Indian Heritage to the countrymen and foreigners should be welcome.

The author and the Sterling Publishers, Delhi need to be congratulated on bringing out the book with a get up which is neat and attractive.

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I am greatly obliged to Messrs. Sterling Publishers Pvt. Limited for accepting this book for publication and bringing it out in record time.

It is with great pleasure that of record my sincere thanks to **DEE PEE, Management Services,** Hyderabad for preparing a neat laser copy.

In conclusion, I entreat the reader's indlugence for the errors of omission and commission, which may still be discovered by the eye, although no pains have been spared to avoid them.

Should this book prove helpful to students and scholars of Vijayanagara History, which I earnestly hope it would prove to be, I will have every reason to regard this work as more than adequately rewarded.

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Abbreviations

E.D.	Elliot and Dooson, The History of India as told by its own historians.
E.C.	Epigraphia Carnatica
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica
S.I.T.I.	South Indian Temple Inscriptions
T.T.D.I.	Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Series.
T.D.E.	Tirumala Devasthanam Epigraphical Report
M.E.R.	Madras Epigraphy Reports.
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions
N.D.I.	Nellore District Inscriptions.
Inscri. Madras Presi.	A Topographical list of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency.
My. Arch. Rep.	Archaeological Survey of Mysore Annual Reports.
Mn. Cr.	Manucaritramu
Bh. Rj.	Bhōjarājīyamu

Cp. I.S.S.	Copper plate inscriptions belonging to the Śrī Śaṅkarācārya of the Kāmakōṭipītha.
Kl. Mh.	Kāḷahastimahātyamu
Nv. Cr.	Navanāthacaritra
Md.Vj.	Madhurāvijayamu
Amu. Ml.	Āmuktamālyada
Smu.Dv.	Siṁhāsanadvātriṁsika.
Rs. Cr.	Rājaśēkhara Caritramu
Fur. so	Further sources of Vijayanagara History
Pr. Hr.	Pārijātāpaharanamu
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary
Q.J.M.S.	Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society.
A.S.M.	Ācāryasūktimuktāvaḷi
Kl. Pr.	Kaḷāpūrnōdayamu
Sources	Sources of Vijayanagara History
Sv. Mh.	Śivarātrimahātmyamu
Ks. Kh.	Kāśīkhaṇḍamu
S.D.S.	Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha
Vy. Cari	Vyāsayōgicaritam
Pr. Mh.	Pāṇḍuraṅgamahātmyamu
Pr. Vl.	Paramayōgivilāsamu
Kd. Rm	Krīḍābhirāmamu
E.H.I.	Elements of Hindu Iconography
S.B.E.	Sacred Books of the East
J.A.R.H.S.	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.O.R.	Journal of Oriental Research
A.B.O.R.I.	Annuals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

My. Soc. Jo.	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
J.I.H.	Journal of Indian History
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly
P.A.I.O.C.	Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference.
P.I.H.C.	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
Vij. Sex. Cen. Com.	Vijayanagara Sex Centenary Commemoration Volume.
Third Dynasty	Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara.
Dvaita School	A History of Dvaita School of Vedanta and its literature.
Mediaeval Jainism	Mediaeval Jainism with reference to Vijayanagara.
Golden Jubilee Souvenir	Golden Jubilee Celebrations Souvenir.

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1

Introduction

The fall of Warangal, the imperial capital of the Kākatīyas, in A.D.1323, to the invading armies of Islām, under the command of Prince Jūna, alias Ulugh Khān, son of Sultān Ghiyās-ud- dīn of Delhi, marks the end of a glorious and eventful epoch in the history of India, to the south of the Vindhyas. Pratāparudra, the then Kākatīya monarch, was taken prisoner and sent to Delhi. But to save himself from the dishonour of incarceration in a Muslim prison the proud Pratāparudra, while being taken to Delhi, put an end to his life on the banks of river Sōmōdbhavā or Narmadā.[1] And with his exit, his empire disintegrated and his family went into oblivion.

The fall of Warangal also constitutes an important landmark in the history of Muslim expansion into the Dakkan and South India. After capturing Warangal, Prince Jūna marched against Mabar[2] which, notwithstanding the Muslim invasions under the Khilji Sultāns, remained unconquered,[3] and defeated its Pāṇḍyan ruler Parākramadēva and returned to Warangal. Leaving Warangal about the middle of A.D. 1324 and marching along the east coast, the prince subdued the petty chiefs that still remained at large and captured the city of Rājamahēndravaram on the banks of the Gōdāvarī. To commemorate this victory the Prince converted the shrine of Vēṇugōpālaswāmi there into a mosque,[4] a common iconoclastic practice among the generals of Islām. Marching northwards Prince Jūna entered the Gajapati kingdom, defeated its ruler Vīra Bhānudēva II and collected a huge booty.[5] Having thus reduced to submission the whole of the Dakkan and South India, with the exception of Kaṁpili and Dwārasamudra, Prince Jūna triumphantly returned to

Delhi. Soon after his return, an accident, believed to have been contrived by himself, resulted in the death of Ghiyās-ud- dīn Tughlaq and Jūna ascended the throne assuming the title of Muḥammad-bin-Tughlaq.

A couple of years after his accession to the throne an excellent opportunity presented itself to the Sultān to reduce to submission the two kingdoms of the South where the flag of Hindu independence still proudly fluttered. In A.D. 1327, Bahā- ud-Dīn Garshāsp, nephew of the late Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughlaq Shah and the governor of Sāgar, either dissatisfied with the new Sultān's changed attitude towards him[6] or provoked by the intrigues of the nobles at the Sultān's court against him,[7] set up the standard of revolt.[8] Foreseeing the inevitable reprisals from Delhi, Bahā-ud-Dīn enlisted to his side the sympathy and support of Kaṁpilidēva, the Hindu king of Kaṁpili. To crush the revolt of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad- bin-Tughlaq sent against him an army under the command of Malik Zāda, governor of Gujarat, and Majīr Abū Rijā, governor of Dēvagiri. The Sultān's army clashed with the forces of Bahā-ud-Dīn on the banks of the Gōdāvari. Defeated in the encounter, Bahā-ud-Dīn fled to Sāgar with the imperial forces close on his heels.[9] Finding the defences of Sāgar inadequate to afford him sufficient security, Bahā-ud- Dīn left Sāgar and took shelter in the fort of Kummaṭa in the dominion of Kaṁpilidēva.[10]

Kaṁpili was a small kingdom founded by a certain Mummaḍi Siṅga and it rose to prominence under the able leadership of his son and successor Kaṁpilidēva who successfully withstood the Muslim onslaughts in the time of the Khilji Sultāns.[11] The support which Kaṁpilidēva gave to the rebel Bahā-ud- Dīn enraged Muḥammad-bin- Tughluq into a determined attempt to wipe out this independent Hindu Kingdom. To accomplish this task the Sultān set out in person. On reaching Dēvagiri he received the news that Bahā- ud- Dīn had taken shelter in Kummaṭa and so despatched an army under the command of Malik Rukn-ud- Dīn who laid siege to Kummaṭa. But Baicappa, minister of Kaṁpilidēva, ably assisted by the Rāja's two sons, Kāṭaṇṇa and Rāmanātha, defeated and drove away the besieging Muslim forces. Then the Sultān sent a second expedition against Kummaṭa under the command of Quṭ.ub-ul-mulk.But this expedition too fared no better than the first one. If anything it fared worse. In a fierce encounter Rāmanātha completely routed the Muslim armies and Quṭ.ub-ul-mulk and the few others who survived the massacre fled for their lives. Muḥammad- bin- Tughluq despatched a third expedition against Kummaṭa under the command of his minister Malik Zāda (Khwāja-i-jahān)[12]. Kummaṭa was besieged for the third time and this siege lasted for about two months, at the end of which period Kaṁ

pilidēva and Garshāsp were forced to abandon their efforts to defend the fort and repaired to Hosdurg. But Malik Zāda laid siege to Hosdurg also and within a month Kaṁpilidēva was reduced to such sore straits that realising the danger to Garshāsp, Kaṁpilidēva sent him and his family to the court of Baḷḷāḷa, entrusting Garshāsp to Baḷḷāḷa's care.[13] This done and having decided to see a glorious victory or a hero's exit, Kaṁpilidēva, in order to safeguard the honour of his women, summoned them all to a huge fire which he ordered to be lit for the purpose and told them, "I am going to die and such of you as prefer it, do the same."[14] And the women who wanted to reach the heaven earlier than their men to give them a warm welcome accepted death with a cheerful countenance. "Each of these Women washed herself, rubbed her body with sandal wood, kissed the ground before the rai of Kaṁbila and threw herself upon the pile." Then Kaṁpilirāya got ready to battle with the Mussalmans and ordered the gates of the fort to be opened. The Rāya with his followers sallied out and fought fiercely and fell fighting for the cause of his country. The triumphant Malik Zāda coveyed the news of his victory to the Sultān by sending the head of the fallen Patriot, stuffed with straw.[15] Entering the fort the Mussalmans carried out a general massacre of the inhabitants. Many were sent as prisoners to Delhi and among these were Harihara and Bukka and the eleven sons of Kaṁpilirāya.[16]

Leaving a garrison in the fort of Hosdurg, Malik Zāda marched against Baḷḷāḷa III with whom Garshāsp had taken shelter. Prudence and self-interest got the better of valour and chivalry and Baḷḷāḷa III made peace with the invader by surrendering his ward, Garshāsp. Thereupon Malik Zāda withdrew his forces from the Hoysala dominions and retired to Dēvagiri.[17] Thus the Muhammadan conquest of the Dakkan and South India, begun by the Khiljis, was completed by the Tughluqs.

The Muslim invasions not only destroyed the political independence of the Hindu kingdoms but also brought untold misery to the people. The invading hordes "descended on the Deccan not as mere conquerors in search of new countries but as crusading warriors to spread the true faith in the land of the infidels".[18]

The Muslim rulers imposed great many disabilities upon their non-Muslim subjects. They were prohibited from carrying out public worship. Branded as Zimmies, the non-Muslims were forced to pay many vexatious taxes for the protection of their lives and property. The Muslim jurists enjoined that it was the bounden duty of every Muslim ruler to make Jihad against the infidels with a view to converting the Darul-Harab (land of infidels) into Darul-Islām (land of the true believers).

The vanquished Hindus were compelled to accept either Islām or the position of Zimmies and pay a capitation tax.[19]

The iconoclastic zeal of the true believers reduced to rubble many a sacred and beautiful Hindu temple. Reference has earlier been made to the conversion of the Vēṇugōpālaswamy temple at Rājamahēndravaram into a mosque. An inscription at Kaṇṇaṇūr states that the temple of Pōsaḷīsura Uḍaiyar, which had been constructed by Vīra Sōmēswara in the middle of the thirteenth century, was demolished upto Ādhārasilai and converted into a mosque by the Muhammadans during their occupation of the region.[20] While in pursuit of the Pāṇḍyan king, Vīra Pāṇḍya, Malik Kāfūr, heard that in Marhatpurī there was a golden idol around which were stationed many elephants. Marching by night, he arrived at the place by the next morning and seized no less than two hundred and fifty elephants. Then, yielding to his iconoclastic zeal, he addressed himself to the task of destroying the rich and beautiful shrine.[21] Referring to this incident the Tārikh-i-Alai remarks, "You might say that it was the paradise of Shaddad which after being lost, those hellites had found that it was the golden Lanka of Ram (The roof was covered with rubies and emeralds). The stone idols called Ling Mahadeo which had been established at that place upto this time, the kick of the horse of Islām had not attempted to break". The attackers destroyed all the Liṅgas in the shrine and "Deo Narain fell down, and the other gods who had fixed their seats there raised their feet and jumped so high that at one leap they reached the fort of Lanka and in that fright the Liṅgas themselves would have fled had they had any legs to stand on." The Malik also ordered a general massacre of all the assembled Brahmans and other devotees.[22]

Śrīraṅgam, the celebrated Vaiṣṇava shrine, also met with the same fate. Though Amīr Khusrau does not explicitly refer to the sack of Śrīraṅgam by Malik Kāfūr, from his statement that Kāfūr sacked all the temples in the country round Kandūr (Kaṇṇaṇūr),[23] the southern capital of Hoysala Sōmēswara, it may safely be inferred that Śrīraṅgam which is not far away from Kandūr could not have escaped the ravages. Information about the Muhammadan attacks on Śrīraṅgam and Cidaṁbaram is preserved in works like the Kōil Oḷugu,[24] Prapannāmṛtam[25] and Ācāryasūktimuktāvaḷi.[26]

The Vilasa grant of the Musunūri chief Prōlaya Nāyaka, dated A.D. 1300, states that "when the Sun (Kākatīya Pratāparudra) set, the world was enveloped in the Turuska darkness. The evil (adharma) which had upto that time been kept under check flourished under them (Muslims) as the conditions were very favourable for its growth. The cruel wretches subjected the rich to torture for the sake of their wealth. Many of their

victims died of terror at the very sight of their vicious countenances; the Brahmans were compelled to abandon their religious practices; the images of the gods were overturned and broken; the agraharas of the learned were confiscated; the cultivators were despoiled of the fruits of their labour; and their families were impoverished and ruined. None dared to lay claim to anything, whether it was a piece of property or one's own wife. To those despicable wretches wine was the ordinary drink, beef the staple food and the slaying of Brahmans the favourite pastime. The land of Triliṅga, left without a protector, suffered destruction from the Yavanas like a forest subjected to a devastating fire".[27]

Gaṅgādēvī's Madhurāvijayam gives a vivid picture of the condition of the Tamil country after Muslim occupation. The work states that Vyāghrapurī (Cidaṁbaram), true to its name, became an abode of tigers; the Vimāna of the Śrīraṅgam temple fell into such a dilapidated condition that Ādi Śēṣa, the Divine Serpent, had to give shade to the Lord with his hood. Because of criminal neglect, the elegant foldings of the finely carved door became a prey to wood worms. The shrine, which once resounded with the symphony of Mṛdaṅgam, now became an abode of jackals and echoed with their jarring howls. The Brāhmana agraharas lost their sanctity due to the presence of the Muhammadans. Because, where once could be seen smoke curling up from the sacrificial fires lit during oblations performed, to the accompaniment of Vēdic recitals by the Brāhmans, now was seen the repelling smoke from fires lit by drunken and inebriated Muslims for cooking meat. The beautiful coconut grooves that adorned the environs of Madura were all cut down and in their places were installed, in row after row, iron spikes adorned by the severed heads of the victims of the Yavana deluge. The Brāhman inhabitants were tortured in every possible way. The streets of the city, which once echoed with the lilting and exhilarating symphony of sounds produced by the bracelets and anklets of women walking gracefully up and down the streets, now echoed with the heart- rending cries of agony and shame to which those hapless women were subjected by the invaders. Very poignantly, indeed,does the poetess observe,"Screechings of owls in worn-out pleasure-groves do not afflict me so much as the voice of parrots being taught to speak Persian in the houses of the Yavanas. The waters of the Tamraparni which were once white with sandal paste rubbed away from the breasts of charming damsels are now flowing red with the blood of cows slaughtered by the miscreants. The Kali age now deserves deepest congratulations for being at the zenith of its power; for, gone is sacred learning; hidden is refinement; hushed is the voice of Dharma; destroyed is discipline and discounted is nobility of birth." [28]

That Hindu temples were destroyed by the Muslim conquerors and converted into mosques is known from the following graphic account furnished by Alexander Rea, Superintendent of Archaeological Department, Southern Circle.

"This is one of the oldest of the Muhammadan mosques in the Presidency (Madras), having been built in A.D. 1324 by Muḥammad Tughlak Shah who, after capturing the fort at Koṇḍapalli after six months' continuous trouble, entered a temple here, and after massacring some of the officiating Brahmin priests, had this mosque built on the ruins of the desolated pagoda, and began to establish Muhammadan worship there. The main door way of finely carved blackstone with inscriptions in Persian, Hindustani, and Arabic, belonged to the Hindu temple. The small Hindu figures of dvārapālakas have been chiselled off the lower niches on each side of the door, thus leaving the floral ornament only, untouched. The pillars in the front portico are all parts of the Hindu temple, as also the inside of the covering. The tank reservoir in the interior was once the sanctum of the Hindu temple, over which the mosque has been built. The great portico just behind this, where Muhammadan worship is now being held, also has some ornamental granite pillars of the Hindu temple with the rest in Hindu style. This is a good example of a Hindu temple which retains its original features and has been converted into a Muhammadan mosque. The entrance to the stone-roofed verandah in the east with massive stone Hindu piers has cracks on side walls..... The main part of the mosque stands at the west end of the court. It has an arcade of seven pointed arches in front and two longitudinal rows of Hindu pillars inside." It is likely that many temples at Ellore, West Gōdāvarī district, and Bikkavol, East Gōdāvarī district,were converted into Muslim institutions symbolising the triumph of the faithful over the infidels.[29]

That the above accounts are no mere exaggerations of interested writers may be gathered from what others had to say.Ibn Baṭūṭa who was an eye-witness to the treatment meted out to Hindu prisoners by Muslim rulers describes in his Rehla some of the ghastly scenes. One day when the traveller was in the company of Ghiyās-ud- Dīn and his Qāzi, an infidel was brought with his wife and seven-year-old son, before the Sultān, who without any discrimination ordered the whole family to be executed. On another occasion, a Hindu met the same fate, to the great agony of the traveller. When the unfortunate Hindu was brought before the Sultān, he uttered something unintelligible and immediately the poor man was attacked with many swords. Unable to witness the gruesome scene lbn Baṭūṭa slipped out on the pretext of offering prayers and when he

returned he found the infidel lying in a pool of blood with his hands and feet severed.[30]

Commenting on the effects of Malik Kāfūr's invasion, Sewell observes, "This terrible inroad made an immense impression on the minds of all the Hindus of South India. For, it must be remembered that although fighting had been incessant there throughout the centuries, it had been only between Hindus, and that whatever suffering was entailed on the mass of the population it did not touch the Brāhman priests or the temples. And yet now there came down on the Hindus, those masses of marauding foreigners, sacking the cities, slaughtering the people, destroying the ancient fanes and killing even the sacred Brāhmans in the name and for the glory of god. The thing was monstrous and unheard of. The result was that the whole of Southern India was convulsed by this catastrophe; the one hope in men's minds was that some Hindu power would arise to defend the country from any such disaster in future; and when a few years later certain princes took the lead they were enthusiastically supported by almost all the parties. This paved the way for the foundation of the empire of Vijayanagara." [31]

The story of those princes and their heroic activities, which resulted in freeing the country from the invaders, constitutes one of the most inspiring, though unfortunately almost completely forgotten, chapters in the history of the Dakkan and South India. The liberation movement began almost immediately after the departure of Muḥammad-Bin-Tughluq from the Dakkan. Prominent among those princes who organised themselves into a confederacy for the purpose were Prōlaya Nāyaka and his cousin Kāpaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family. In the wars of liberation these princes were guided by Beṇḍapūḍi Aṇṇamantri, described as "the veritable fire in annihilating the Yavanas" and as "the establisher of the throne of the Adhyakṣa of the Andhra Country", [32] and who served as Gaja-sāhiṇi under the late Pratāparudradēva, and Kolani Rudradēva, Superintendent of the Seventy-two Durgas under the same Kākatīya monarch,[33] and Siṅgaya Nāyaka of the Rēcerla family and others.[34] The Vilasa grant of Prōlaya Nāyaka, referred to earlier, states that Prōlaya Nāyaka "destroyed the oppressive supremacy of the Yavanas by the unrestrained strength of his arm which supported the Visva or the world. Did his name become a mantra to exorcise the vile Yavanas? (Uccātanakarma-Kāri). By hearing it merely repeated those despicable Yavanas abandoned the forts and disappeared from every quarter. Just as people afflicted by the summer heat resort to the cool waters of a lake, those that were harassed by the Yavanas took refuge under that powerful king, Prōla. The very people who were subjected formerly to harassment by the Turuskas put them to death; verily, the strength accruing from as-

raya - protection or shelter. - is of great consequence. In this way having overthrown the mighty Yavana world, he, Prōlaya Nāyaka, revived the Dharma which was lost during the severe calamity". [35]

Prōlaya Nāyaka's rebellion heralded the movement for the liberation of the country. Rēkapalli, on the banks of the Gōdāvarī, which Prōlaya Nāyaka made his capital, became the base of operations of Prōlaya and his confederates. The extent of Prōlaya Nāyaka's conquest of the coastal region is not ascertainable on the basis of available evidence. But circumstantial evidence indicates that Prōlaya unfurled the banner of revolt, soon after the departure of Muḥammad-bin-Tughluq from the Dakkan and was successful in reducing parts, if not the whole, of the coastal region, by A.D. 1330-31.[36]

At about the same time as Prōlaya Nāyaka set up the standard of revolt in the coastal region, Hindus of the western Telugu country, under the leadership of the Cāḷukyan prince Sōmadēvarāja, progenitor of the later Āravīḍu chiefs, rose in revolt against Malik Muhammad, governor of Kaṁpili . The Portuguese chronicler Nuniz writes, "The king (Muḥammad Tughluq) having departed to his own kingdom leaving the kingdom of Bisnaga in the power of Meliquy niby (Malik Muhammad) when it was known throughout the country how he was out of it, those who had escaped to the mountains, with others who, against their will and through fear, had taken oaths of fealty, for their towns and villages rose against the captain Meliquy niby, and came to besiege him in the fortress, allowing no provisions to go in to him, nor paying him the taxes that had been forced on them. And Meliquy niby, seeing how little profit he could get in this country, and how badly he was obeyed, and how far off was the succour sent by his lord, the king, sent quickly to him to tell him how all the land was risen against him and how every one was lord of what he pleased, and no one was on his side; and that His Highness should decide what he thought best to be done in such case." [37] Aṅdugula Veṅkanna's Rāmarājīyam and Dōnēru Kōnērināthas's Bāla Bhāgavatam state that Sōmadēvarāja defeated in battle a Muslim ruler called Muhammad.[38] This Muhammad may be identified with Malik Muhammad who was appointed the governor of Kaṁpili after its conquest by Muḥammad-bin-Tughluq. The Kōsagi chiefs extended their co-operation to Sōmadēvarāja in his war against the Muhammadans. Malik Muhammad offered stiff resistance but in vain. Finally, with 6,000horses, he fell into the hands of Sōmadēvarāja, though managed to regain his freedom by promises which he had no intention of honouring and in fact did not.

The spirit of nationalism which freed most of the Andhra country from the Muhammadan yoke overflowed into Karnataka and Baḷḷāḷa III, the Hoysala ruler of Dwārasamudra, threw off his allegiance to the Sultān of Delhi. The Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta states that "Nava Baḷḷāḷas, having gathered strength, rebelled against the Sultān in Karnataka".[39]

When Muḥammad-bin-Tughluq heard of the revolt of the Hindus at Kaṁpili he convened a council of the great men of the realm and sought their advice on how best to deal with the situation. On the advice of this council, the Sultān set free the men who had been taken prisoner when Kaṁpili was captured. Of these two had become converts to Islam. One of these, Deorao, had served the Rāya of Kaṁpili in the capacity of minister while the other, whose name is not mentioned, functioned as treasurer. The Sultān appointed Deorao as governor of Kaṁpili and the other as his minister and, after taking from them "oaths and pledges of their fealty as vassals", sent them to their lands with a large following to defend them from any one who should desire to do them injury.[40]

Deorao and his unnamed minister have, on the evidence of Vidyāraṇya- Vṛttānta, Kālajñāna,[41] and other sources, been identified with the brothers Harihara and Bukka who were originally in the service of Kākatīya Pratāparudradēva and after the fall of Warangal entered the service of Rāmanātha, the brave son of Kaṁpilirāya, and entered into a matrimonial alliance with that royal family.

Information concerning the activities of Harihara and Bukka from the time of their arrival in the Dakkan to the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1336, as also about the developments in the different parts of the Dakkan and South India, is very scanty, vague and sometimes contradictory.

According to Nuniz, Deorao and his followers reached Anegondi without any incident, that the people, elated at the news, celebrated feasts, accepted them as their king, and that Meliquy niby handed over the fortress and the kingdom to him.[42] But in view of the fact that Sōmadēvarāja and Vīra Baḷḷāḷa III had between them conquered almost all the strongholds in the Kaṁpili- rajya, it does not seem probable that they allowed such an easy time to Harihara who was a convert to Islam and who had come to rule over the region as a vassal of Muḥammd-bin-Tughluq. He must have had to fight hard with Sōmadēva and Baḷḷāḷa. The conclusion, after a thorough examination of the available evidence, is arrived at by one scholar, that after first establishing himself in a small area round about Gutti in the Anantapur district, Harihara strove hard to extend the boundaries of his tiny kingdom and "within a short period of three or four years built up with the help of his brother Bukka a

kingdom extending from Hampi on the Tungabhadra to the Bay of Bengal and from the Kṛṣṇa to Candragiri".[43]

While Harihara was engaged in reducing Kampili to subjection, Sayyid Jalāl-ud-dīn, Governor of Mabar, set up the standard of revolt in A.D. 1334-35. Muḥammad Tughluq sent an army against him but it turned disloyal and joined the enemy. Then the Sultān marched out in person to put down the revolt. But when he reached Warangal a plague broke out and took a heavy toll of his soldiers and officers. Then the Sultān was forced to abandon the idea of marching South and leaving the deputy Vazīr Malik Qabūl or Maqbūl at Warangal to administer Tiling, retreated to Daulatabad.[44] The failure of Muḥammad-bin-Tughluq's Mabar campaign greatly lowered the imperial authority and encouraged disturbances throughout the empire.[45]

By now, Prōlaya Nāyaka appears to have passed away and the mantle of leadership devolved on his cousin Kāpaya Nāyaka, son of Dēvaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family. A man of keen insight, Kāpaya Nāyaka realised the need for co-ordinating the efforts of the various Hindu princes engaged in the liberation movement. He met Baḷḷāḷa III, the most powerful of the Hindu kings, in a secret conclave at Dwārasamudra and Baḷḷāḷa promised to co-operate. And with Baḷḷāḷa's assistance Kāpaya Nāyaka captured Warangal, made it the seat of his government and wrested a large part of Telangana from the Muhammadans.[46] With Baḷḷāḷa's encouragement Ekāmranātha Sambuvarāya also rose in revolt and conquered a part of Mabar from Sayyid Jalāl-ud-dīn.[47]

In all probability, partly under the impact of the success which crowned the efforts of leaders like Kāpaya Nāyaka and Vīra Baḷḷāḷa III in putting an end to oppressive Muslim rule and partly under the spiritual influence of the great sage Vidyāraṇya, Harihara and Bukka apostatized from Islam, and as a first step in the direction of building up a great empire that would protect Hindu independence and preserve the integrity of Hindu culture founded the city of Vijayanagara.

As stated earlier, Harihara and Bukka embraced Islam when they were taken prisoner by Muḥammad-bin-Tughluq. Tradition, however, is silent about the change and rechange of their faith by the two brothers, implying thereby that they never accepted Islam even at the point of the sword. However, as has been suggested by one authority, the silence of tradition as recorded in the Vidyāraṇya- Kālajñāna, Vṛttānta and other works of the kind need not be taken as a contradiction of the statements of contemporary historians like Barani, Iṣāmy who have borne testimony to the conversion and to Islam of the brothers under the coercion of the Muslim ruler and their re-conversion to the Hindu faith.[48] It could be

that the Hindu chroniclers considered the whole thing as just an episode not worthy of recording.

The Srngeri Matha and the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire :

From the foregoing account of the distressing social and economic conditions prevailing in the Dakkan and South India on account of the Muhammadan occupation, it is obvious that the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire,devoted and dedicated to the restoration and maintenance of Hindu independence and culture, was an urgent necessity. Harihara and Bukka resolved to be the architects of this revival. But they needed, for the success of their enterprise, strong spiritual and material backing. And this was furnished in ample measure by the pontiffs of the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha, especially Vidyāraṇya.

Vidyāraṇya's role in the foundation of the city and empire of Vijayanagara has been a subject of much controversy. The Kāpalūru[49] and Bāgepalli[50] records, dated S 1336, which refer to the foundation of Vidyānagara or Vijayanagara, on the advice or at the instance of Vidyāraṇya, are regarded by some scholars as spurious. It has also been pointed out that there is no record for Vidyāraṇya between A.D. 1336 to 1356.[51]

But an epigraph, dated S 1334, describes Bukka as seated on the jewelled throne in the city of Vidyā, which was distinguished as the abode of victory and which had been made by Vidyāraṇya.[52] Even if the other inscriptions referring to Vidyānagara are interpreted as referring to "a city of learning" without any connection with Vidyāraṇya,[53] the testimony of the above record cannot be denied.

As for the absence of record for Vidyāraṇya for the period A.D.1336 to 1356[54], it has been explained, on the basis of a Kaḍita of Harihara II,[55] that for some time Vidyāraṇya was at Vāraṇāsi from where he returned only at the earnest request of the king and the express orders of Vidyātīrtha, senior Śrīpāda of Śṛṅgēri. Further, the presence of Vidyāraṇya in the South prior to A.D.1356 is proved by the Virūpākṣa Campu of Ahōbalapti who was a contemporary of Harihara I (A.D.1336-1355).[56]

According to the Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta,[57] "Vidyāraṇya seated himself upon the throne before the coronation of Harihara and received from him with libations of water a gift of a lakh and a quarter territory, both above and below the ghats in the kingdom of Karnataka, which he had obtained (from the earlier ruler or rulers) for the maintenance of the Maṭha and the choultry at Śṛṅgēri as well as the agrahara and Paramahaṁsa choultry. Then seating Harihara on the throne Vidyāraṇya performed his coronation. He invested him with the insignia

of royalty and entrusted to him the Pearl Crown and the Pearl Throne. Vidyāraṇya caused a shower of gold to fall for three and three quarters of Ghaḍis in the city of Vijayanagara by the exercise of the Ghaṭikā Siddhi, which he had obtained from the sage Vyāsa. All the gold that fell within the houses belonged to their owners and the remainder was collected and deposited in the royal treasury." It is not unreasonable to infer from the above statement that Vidyāraṇya caused a shower of gold to fall, and that he provided substantial monetary help from the treasury of the Maṭha, which, obviously,was a very wealthy institution, to Harihara for the furtherance of his noble efforts at nation building.

According to the Vidyāraṇya - Kālajñāna and Vṛttānta,[58] Harihara, soon after his coronation, surrendered on the advice of Vidyāraṇya his entire kingdom to god Virūpākṣa of Haṁpi and received it back to administer as His trustee. Soon after the above mentioned events, Vidyāraṇya appears to have gone on a pilgrimage to Vāraṇāsi. But at the request of Harihara and the express orders of Vidyātīrtha, the senior Śrīpāda of Śṛṅgēri, Vidyāraṇya returned to the scene in A.D. 1356 and once again guided the destinies of the empire. For this he received the greatest praise in the later records of the empire. For instance, according to a copper plate,[59] Harihara II acquired the empire of knowledge unattainable by other kings by the grace of Vidyāraṇyamuni. An incomplete inscription of the same ruler, dated A.D. 1386, says, "May the wonderful glances of Vidyāraṇya which resemble showers of camphor dust, garlands of the Kalahara flower, rays of the moon, sandal paste and waves of the milk ocean, which shower the nectar of compassion, bring you happiness." Theoretically the record asks,"Can he be Brahma? We do not see four faces. Can he be Viṣṇu? He has not got four arms. Can he be Śiva? No oddness of the eye is observable." Having thus argued for a long time the record assures us that the learned have come to the conclusion that Vidyāranva is the supreme light incarnate." [60]

An epigraph dated A.D. 1378 states that a grant was made at the behest of Vidyāraṇya.[61] Another record of Harihara II dated A.D. 1386 states that on the death of Vidyāraṇya, Harihara granted lands under the name of Vidyāraṇyapura.[62] From this it would appear that Vidyāraṇya acted as adviser to the rulers of Vijayanagara from A.D. 1356, when he returned from Vāraṇāsi, till his death in or about the year A.D.1386.

That during the absence of Vidyāraṇya also the pontiffs of the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha acted as preceptors of Harihara and Bukka may be inferred from the fact that an epigraph dated A.D. 1346 states that Harihara, along with his four brothers, paid a visit to Śṛṅgēri and made a grant to Bhāratītīrtha, the junior most of the trio, Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya and

Bhāratītīrtha.[63] As a matter of fact,the association of the Śṛṅgēri pontiffs with the Vijayanagara rulers has continued throughout the Saṅgama rule and even beyond.

Vidyāraṇya has been identified by some scholars with the great scholar Mādhavācārya who was closely connected with the Vijayanagara empire in its early phases.[64] Literary and epigraphical evidence, however, indicates that, though contemporaneous, they were two different individuals. None of the inscriptions that refer to Vidyāraṇya ever identified him with Mādhava nor those mentioning Mādhava give him the alias of Vidyāraṇya.[65] Moreover, while the inscriptions of Vidyāraṇya show him as a pontiff of the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha, there is no evidence of Mādhava becoming a Sanyāsi or of his association with the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha. In the biographical details of Mādhava found in his Parāsaramādhavīya, Mādhava describes himself as Brāhman of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, Bōdhāyana sūtra and Yajus sākha. His parents were Māyana and Śrīmati. His brothers were Sāyaṇa and Bhōganātha. No such details are available for Vidyāraṇya even in later works like the Guruvaṁsamahākāvya and the Śivatatvaratnākara, not to speak of Vidyāraṇya- Vṛttānta and Kālajñāna.

The Gurus of Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya were also different. Works of Vidyāraṇya like the Jīvanmuktiviṿēka, the Anubhūtiprakāśika, the Vivaraṇapramēyasaṅgraha and the Paṅcadaśi contain invocations to Vidyātīrtha. Even the grants of Vidyāraṇya invariably begin with a verse in adoration of Vidyātīrtha, his spiritual preceptor.

Mādhavācārya had three Gurus, Vidyātīrtha, Bhāratītīrtha, and Śrīkaṇṭha, the chief Guru of Mādhava being Bhāratītīrtha. His Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara states that he became all knowing by the grace of Vidyātīrtha and that he composed the present work by the blessings of Bhāratītīrtha. Vidyātīrtha is invoked in the last of the introductory verses.

Bhāratītīrtha was youngest of the trio, viz., Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya and Bhāratītīrtha. The Śṛṅgēri Kaḍita of A.D. 1380 states that king Bukka sports happily near the lotus, i.e., Bhāratītīrtha, which, having sprung from Vidyātīrtha, expands by the rays of the sun, i.e., Vidyāraṇya. This shows that Bhāratītīrtha was the junior most Guru and so could not have commanded respect from Vidyāraṇya.[66]

Moreover, Sāyaṇa refers to his brother Mādhava as a household His Alaṅkārasudhānidhi states that Māyana's son Mādhava was justly so called because he was able to rule the earth for Bukka. Further Mādhava is described as enjoying various pleasures and as a minister of all the worlds.[67] The colophon at the end of this work calls Mādhavācārya as

Bukkarāja Prathamārādhya. The introductory verses of the Yajna tantrasudhānidhi describe Mādhava as a great performer of sacrifices. This work was composed during the reign of Harihara.[68] The Harihara mentioned here appears to have been Harihara II who ruled between A.D. 1377 and 1404 and not Harihara I whose reign extended from A.D. 1336- 1356.[69] And so Mādhava, if identical with Vidyāraṇya who was a Sanyāsi, could not have found mention as an orthodox house-holder in a work of the reign of Harihara II.

Vidyāraṇya was a Sanyāsi and is referred to in the inscriptions as Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakācārya.[70] As one who had renounced the world and accepted the life of an ascetic he could not have been described as enjoying various pleasures and as a performer of sacrifices. The argument that Vidyāraṇya was originally a householder with the name Mādhava and that when he became a Sanyāsi he acquired the name of Vidyāraṇya would mean that Mādhava became a Sanyāsi sometime during the reign of Harihara II. It would then be difficult to explain the references to him in the earlier inscriptions and Kaḍitas which have been referred to above.

The Virūpākṣa sign manual adopted by the Vijayanagara Emperors may be cited as an illustration of the tremendous influence which this great sage Vidyāraṇya exercised on the destiny of the Empire. With a view to inspire confidence in the hearts of the people and to give a divine sanction to the rule of the Hindu brothers who were apostates from Islam he ordained Harihara to surrender his territory to God Virūpākṣa of Haṁpi and administer it in His name adopting His sign manual. And all the Vijayanagara rulers considered Virūpākṣa their Penates and Lares as may be seen from the table given below:

Date of the Record	Sign Manual
A.D. 1336	Śrī Virūpākṣa[71]
„ 1344	Śrī Virūpākṣa[72]
„ 1347	Śrī Virūpākṣa[73]
„ 1354	Śrī Virūpākṣa[74]
„ 1370	Śrī Virūpākṣa[75]
„ 1376	Śrī Virūpākṣa[76]
„ 1378	Śrī Virūpākṣa[77]
„ 1379	Śrī Virūpākṣa[78]
„ 1380	Śrī Virūpākṣa[79]

,,	1382	Śrī Virūpākṣa[80]
,,	1385	Śrī Virūpākṣa[81]
,,	1388	Śrī Virūpākṣa[82]
,,	1394	Śrī Virūpākṣa[83]
,,	1394	Śrī Virūpākṣa[84]
,,	1403	Śrī Virūpākṣa[85]
,,	1404	Śrī Virūpākṣa[86]
,,	1406	Śrī Virūpākṣa[87]
,,	1408	Śrī Virūpākṣa[88]
,,	1414	Śrī Virūpākṣa[89]
,,	1415	Śrī Virūpākṣa[90]
,,	1420	Śrī Virūpākṣa[91]
,,	1427	Śrī Virūpākṣa[92]
,,	1430	Śrī Virūpākṣa[93]
,,	1431	Śrī Virūpākṣa[94]
,,	1434	Śrī Virūpākṣa[95]
,,	1447	Śrī Virūpākṣa[96]
,,	1447	Śrī Virūpākṣa[97]
,,	1463	Śrī Virūpākṣa[98]
,,	1463	Śrī Virūpākṣa[99]
,,	1463	Śrī Virūpākṣa[100]
,,	1466	Śrī Virūpākṣa[101]
,,	1467	Śrī Virūpākṣa[102]
,,	1474	Śrī Virūpākṣa[103]
,,	1505	Śrī Virūpākṣa[104]
,,	1506	Śrī Virūpākṣa[105]
,,	1506	Śrī Virūpākṣa[106]
,,	1507	Śrī Virūpākṣa[107]
,,	1510	Śrī Virūpākṣa[108]
,,	1513	Śrī Virūpākṣa[109]

„	1514	Śrī Virūpākṣa[110]
„	1515	Śrī Virūpākṣa[111]
„	1516	Śrī Virūpākṣa[112]
„	1517,1519	Śrī Virūpākṣa[113]
„	1528	Śrī Virūpākṣa[114]
„	1529	Śrī Virūpākṣa[115]
„	1529	Śrī Virūpākṣa[116]
„	153(	Śrī Virūpākṣa[117]
„	1531	Śrī Virūpākṣa[118]
„	1533	Śrī Virūpākṣa[119]
„	1533	Śrī Virūpākṣa[120]
„	1539	Śrī Virūpākṣa[121]
„	1544	Śrī Virūpākṣa[122]
„	1545	Śrī Virūpākṣa[123]
„	1548	Śrī Virūpākṣa[124]
„	1551	Śrī Virūpākṣa[125]
„	1561	Śrī Virūpākṣa[126]
„	1565	Śrī Rāma[127]
„	1571	Śrī Virūpākṣa[128]
„	1577	Śrī Virūpākṣa[129]
„	1586	Śrī Virūpākṣa[130]
„	1639	Śrī Virūpākṣa131
„	1645	Śrī Rāma[132]
„	1660	Śrī Rāma[133]
„	1660	Śrī Rāma[134]
„	1664	Śrī Rāma[135]

As the object of the Vijayanagara empire was the preservation of Hindu Dharma and tradition, Vēdic religion and varṇāśrama-dharma against the onslaughts of Islam, the Vijayanagara rulers strove hard to

protect all that was venerated by the Hindus,especially the Brāhmans and cows. According to traditional Hinduism, the welfare of the community depends on the special protection afforded to Brāhmans and cows as is evident from the ancient invocation to the Supreme Being, "Go brahmanebhyah subhamastu nityam, Loka samasta sukhino bhavantuh." It is in the fitness of the scheme of things therefore that they not only gave extensive grants to Brāhmans who were proficient in the Vēdas, Puraṇas and Śāstras but also emphasised the moral duty of every Hindu to protect the cow. All the Vijayanagara epigraphs invariably end with a curse stating that anybody who violates the contents of theepigraphswill incur the sin of killing Brāhmans and cows.

That the aim of Vijayanagara rulers was the protection of Hindu Dharma is well authenticated by innumerable epigraphical records and by the accounts of foreign travellers. A record dated A.D.1347 states that "in the Kali age evil having greatly increased, Dharma, seeing that it was impossible for it to move about, went to the side of its master, the creator and benefactor of the world, and said (with only one leg left) how can I travel about in the troubles of the Kali age? Show some mercy, O lord, yours is to remove the difficulties of those who bow before you! Hearing this from Dharma, the Father(Tātā) being favourable to the prayer, he thus for a long time presented, made in the great royal line of which Śailaṅka was the lord, a king named Saṅgama."[136] Another record of the reign of Bukka dated A.D. 1376 says,"In the world Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa) was born to Yaśōda and Naṅdagōpa and gave them a promise that he would eventually reappear as a king to deliver the world when it was overspread by Mlēcchas. Accordingly he was born in the region of Paṁpāpurī to Saṅgama and his wife Kāmāṁbika as Bukkamahīpathi." [137] Verily, Bukka and Harihara were born for the protection of the earth like Rauhiṇēya and Kṛṣṇa.[138] Describing Bukka as a custodian of Dharma, Gaṅgā Dēvī says in her Madhurā-Vijayam: "The Tree of Dharma which had withered away by the scorching heat of this Kali age sprouted again by the water that flowed (from his hands) while making gifts of charity." [139] About his son Kaṁpaṇa's mission to destroy the Madhura Sultānate the female apparition says, "Dharma is in great distress by being now subjected to the scorching influence of the evil-natured Yavanas, and earth in consequence looks parched, as it were; and so may you, by the raw of enemies' blood, allay the latter's sufferings." [140] That Kaṁpaṇa was the protector of Dharma or custodian of Dharma is authenticated by a record which described him as Dharma Sthāpanaśīlabuddhi.[141]

A unique record of the reign of Harihara II dated A.D.1377 throws light on the revival of Dharma by the Vijayanagara rulers. It states that

Lord Viṣṇu gave the following boon to Yaśōda and Naṅdagōpa; "Taking the form of king I will lift this earth which is occupied by Mlechchas.....in this sinful age of Kali..... in the contiguous region of Paṁpāpurī, you be Saṅgama. O! divine-mother you be Kāmāṁbika and I will be your son (king) Bukkarāja by name." In this way as the time passed according to the divine mystery, in order to convert the Kali age into Krita, Nanda was born as king Saṅgama and his beloved as Kāmāṁbika. The record further states that Harihara was born "by the fortune of the people who are conversant in Śrutis (Vēdas),by the good deeds of the people whose sole virtue is dharma,i.e.,righteousness and by meritorious acts." At the time of his coronation as the kettle drums were sounded and Brāhmans showered blessings on the King, the evils disappeared within a moment, Kali(the age of vice) was banished." While Harihara was preparing himself to accept the responsibility of protecting Dharma, "Kūrma (tortoise - Viṣṇu's incarnation) having stepped out of the shell happily relinquished its duties, Sesha freed his thousand hoods of their great suffering and Varāha (boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu) in his turn obtained rest."[142] Another record of the reign of Harihara is equally emphatic about the role of the Vijayanagar rulers as custodians of dharma. Harihara, the ruler of Vidyānagari, the birthplace of dharma and adharma, was described as the regulator of dharma and adharma as determined in Śruti and Smṛiti. The epigraph in conclusion adds that "the kings,whether they be my (Harihara) own descendants or descendants of other kings who always protect my charities intent on dharma, bear on my head their two sandals." The description of Harihara as a controller of dharma and adharma as enjoined by Śruti (Vēdas) and Smṛiti and of Vidyānagari as the abode of dharma and adharma suggest that adharma prevailed in that land on account of the effects of Muslim invasions before the establishment of the Vijayanagara empire and dharma was restored thereafter by the Saṅgama rulers. By the fortune of the people who are conversant in Śruti (Vēdas) by the good deeds of the people whose sole virtue is dharma, righteousness and by their meritorious acts, the King Harihara by name was born.[143] Kṛṣṇadēvarāya states that the king was created by Prajānātha or Brahma specially to govern the people. He was the chosen representative of God, recognised by the Vēdas and equal to the position of Dēvatas. As such his existence would not be justified unless he endures hardships and removes the troubles of this earth. The worlds such as bhuva and svarga are governed by dharma.[144] This sanctimonious and onerous duty of the ruler is corroborated by an epigraph of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya which states that "this bridge of dharma is common to all kings and should be protected by you from time to time. Thus does Rāmachandra beseech again and again all future rulers."[145]

As the Vijayanagara rulers addressed themselves to the task of reviving and safeguarding Hindu Dharma and tradition it was but natural that they laboured hard to preserve the traditional social order or the varṇāśramadharma. The protection of the varṇās or castes was aimed to discourage the intermingling of the castes and project the pristine purity of Hindu religion from the influence of Islam. In the Vijayanagara epigraphs the rulers styled themselves the protectors of varṇāśrama dharma.[146] Even the most liberal minded emperor, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, expressed his love for varṇāśramadharma in his work Āmuktamālyada.[147]

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35.Ibid., pp.35-36.

36. Venkata Ramanayya, N., The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, pp.172-174.

37.Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp.284-85.

38.Bhāratī, 1929, pp.845-67; Rāmarājīyam, p.23; Sources, pp. 81-82.

39. Fur. So.Vol.III, p. 11. "The word Nava- Baḷḷāḷaru is a generic term which applies to all the kings of the Hoysala or the Baḷḷāḷa dynasty, etc. N.Venkata Ramanayya, The Early Muslim Expansion in South India. p. 182 fn.

40.Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p.285.

41.Fur. So. Vol.III, pp. 9-15.

42.Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p.286.

43. Venkata Ramanayya, N. The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, pp. 186-191.

44.E.D.III, pp. 243, 247, 367; Iṣāmy, Futūḥ- us- Salātīn, pp. 449-51.

45. Anarchy reigned in different parts and the sceptre would have fallen from the hands had it not been decreed by destiny that his

good fortune should still continue. The Rehla of Ibn Baṭūṭa, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p.101

46.E.D.III, pp. 245-46; Tārikh-i-Ferishta, p.138.

47. ER. 1924, Para 27; Ibid, 1919, No.401; Ibid, 1921, Nos.42, 48; Ibid, 1926, No.499.

48.Fur. So.Vol.I, p.33.

49.N.D.I. Vol.I, No.15.

50.E.C.X., Bg.70.

51.Father Heras, Beginnings of Vijayanagara History, pp.4,8,14,12,24,32,34,45.

52.EC.X.Mb.158.

53.According to one record Vīrapratāpa Bukkarāya Mahārāya was ruling from Vidyānagara in A.D. 1351. M.E.R. 1925-26, No.16. Two inscriptions of Harihara I dated A.D. 1348 and A.D. 1353 refer to his capital Vidyānagara. MER. 1920-21, No.9. In another dated A.D.1353 the city is called Kurukṣētra Vidyānagari. MER. 1925-26, 8.

54.The Śṛngēri record of A.D. 1346 states that in A.D. 1346 Harihara I paid a visit to the Śṛngēri Maṭha with his four brothers and granted nine villages for the maintenance of the Maṭha to Bhāratītīrtha Śrīpāda and his disciples. E.C. VI Sg.I. This record does not refer to Vidyāraṇya.

55.My.Arch.Rep. 1916, p.57.

56.Fur.So.Vol.I, pp.54-55.

57.Ibid., Vol.III, p.12.

58.Ibid., pp. 14-15, 12, 7-8.

59.My.Arch.Rep.1916, p.58.

60.Ibid., p.58.

61.E.G.VI, Kp.30.

62.My.Arch.Rep.1916,p.59.

63.E.C.VI,Sg.1.

64. Ramanayya,N.V., believes that Mādhavācārya was a householder and when he became a Sanyāsi came to be known as Vidyāraṇya (Origin of the City and the Empire, p.55).

Narasimhachar, R., however admits lack of epigraphical evidence in support of the identity theory, supports the identification on the basis of some late works (I.A. Vol.45, p.18). Srikantayya, S., supports identity theory (Vij. Sex.Cen.Com.Vol.p.167). However, Mahalingam, T.V., says that it is highly doubtful if such an identification can be supported on strong and reliable evidence. (Administration and Social Lifeunder Vijayanagara, p.359).

65.Ep.Ind.III, p.118; S.I.I.IV,p.60.

66.My.Arch.Rep. 1916, p.58.

67.Ind.Ant.1916, p.2.

68.Ibid, p.2.

69. Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the Lib. of the Cal.Sans.College, 1894, no.20.

70.My.Arch.Rep.1908, Para 54; E.C.VI, Kp.30.

71.E.C.X, Pt.1, Bg.70.

72.E.C.X, Pt.1, Mb. 158.

73.E.C., VIII, Sb.375.

74.E.C., XII, Pg.74.

75.E.C., X. Pt.1, Gd.46.

76.E.C., IV. Pt.11, Yd.46.

77.E.C., V, Pt.1, Cm.256.

78.E.C., XI, Dg.34.

79.E.C., XII, Kg.43.

80.E.C., XI, Dg.68.

81.E.C., V., Pt.1, Bl.148.

82.E.C. XII, Tp.9.

83.E.C., VII, TI.201.

84.E.C., VII, Pt.1, Ci.13.

85.E.C., XII. Si.95.

86.E.C., VI, Kp.25.

87.E.C., V, Pt.1, Cn.256.

88.E.C., VI, Kp.33.

89.Ep.. Ind.XVI. p.222.

90.E.C., XII. Mi.83.

91.E.C.,VII, Pt.1, Sk.288

92.Ep. Ind, XVII, p.116.

93.E.C., III, SR.15.

94.E.C., VII, Pt.I, Sh.71.

95.E.C., X. Pt.1 Sd.94.

96.E.C., XII, Pg.69.

97.E.C., XII, Tm.52.

98.E.C., VIII, NR.68.

99.E.C., VIII, NR.69.

100.E.C., VIII, Tl.206

101.Ep.Ind.Vol.XV, p.23.

102.Ep.Ind.Vol.XVII, p.202.

103.E.C., III, Ml.121.

104.E.C.,X. Gd.77.

105.E.C. VIII, NR.64.

106.E.C. VIII, NR.66.

107.Ep.Ind.Vol.XIV, p.231.

108.E.C. XII, Ml.64.

109.E.C.III, Nj.16.

110.S.I.I.Vol., IX. Pt.11, 496.

111.E.C., V.Pt.1, Hn.6.

112.E.C., XII, Tm.51.

113.E.C., XII, Pg.4.

114.Ep.Ind. XVIII, p.169.

115.Ep.Ind.XIV, p.310.

116.S.I.I. IX, Pt.11,526,527.

117.S.I.I. IX, Pt.11,530.

118.E.C.,IV, Pt.11, Kp.11.

119.E.C., XII, Pg.75.

120.E.C., XII, Tp.1.

121.E.C., XII, Tm.50.

122.E.C., XI, Hr.29.

123.E.C., IV, Pt.11. Ng.58.

124.Ep. Ind.XIV, p.341.

125.Ep. Ind.XIV, p.230.

126.E.C., V, Pt.1. Hn.7.

127.E.C., VII, Pt.1. Ci.62.

128.E.C., XII, Tm.1.

129.E.C., X, Mb.1.

130.Ep. Ind. XVI,p.296.

131.E.C., III, Ng.198.

132.E.C., X, Mb.60.

133.E.C., V, Pt.1, BI.81.

134.E.C., V, Pt.1, BI.122.

135.E.C., III, SR.12.

136.E.C., VIII, Sb.375.

137.E.C., IV, Pt.11, Yd.46.

138.E.C., XI, Dg.34.

139.Canto.1, 37.

140.Ibid.. Canto, VIII.

141.E.C., X, KI. 222.

142.E.C., V. Kn.77.

143.C.E., III, Hg.149.

144.Am.MI.Ch,IV, V,285.

145.E.C., IV, Ch.100.

146.E.C., VI, Kg.49,51; VIII, TI.196,2,155.

147.Op. Cit., Ch.V.

2

Sources

The sources of information for reconstructing the history of religion in the Vijayanagara Empire during the period A.D. 1336- 1565 may be classified under six heads: literature, inscriptions, accounts of foreign travellers, traditional accounts, numismatics and sculpture.

Of the six categories of sources, literature is by far the most informative. The rulers of Vijayanagara were great lovers and generous patrons of belles lettres. Through their lavish generosity they attracted to their court a galaxy of eminent poets. The celebrated court of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, known as Bhuvana-vijayamu, adorned by the great Aṣṭa-diggajās, was particularly famous. These and other poets of the Vijayanagara empire, some of whom combined in themselves the qualities of great poets and the moral fervour and zeal usually associated with religious teachers, produced a host of literary works of great merit, thus making an abiding contribution to the literary heritage--secular as well as sectarian, of the country.

Not only were the rulers and members of the royal families of Vijayanagara patrons of letters but were themselves great scholars. Some of them were distinguished poets as well. For example, Gaṅgā Dēvi, the wife of Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa, wrote a Kāvya in Sanskrit entitled Madhurāvijayam. Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, the patron of the Aṣṭa- diggajās, was the author of two works, the Āmuktamālyada and Jāmbavatī Kalyāṇamu.

The literary works of this period are in four languages - Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tamil. The empire of Vijayanagara comprised three distinct linguistic areas-- Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tamil. It is therefore but natural that the rulers of this tri-lingual empire should extend their patronage to poets in the three languages besides Sanskrit which

had, for centuries past, been considered the medium of poetic expression par excellence.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Vidyāraṇya, the guide philosopher and friend of the founders of the city of Vijayanagara, was the author of four philosophical treatises--Pañcadasi, Jīvanmuktivivēka, Anubhūtiprakāsika, and Vivaraṇapramēyasaṅgraha. The Pañcadasi is a work of very high order dealing with the philosophy of Adyaita. Divided into four Prakaraṇās--Tatvavivēka, Mahābhūta, Pañcakōsa and Dvaitavivēka, this work gives the message of Advaita as follows: "Brahma satyam, Jaganmidhya, jīvō Brahmaiva na parah." The Jīvanmuktivivēka is another important work on the Advaita philosophy. The Anubhutiprakāsika, dedicated to the author's spiritual Guru, Vidyātīrtha, contains an interpretation of the Vēdas. The Vivaraṇapramēyasaṅgraha contains an elaboration of the Vivaraṇa view of Vēdānta propoundedbyPadmapāda and Prakāsātman.

Māyaṇa Mādhavācāry's Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara deals elaborately with the Sūtras of Jaiminī or the Karma-mīmāṁsā system and was highly appreciated by King Bukka. Another work of Mādhavācārya is the Parāsarasmrtivyākhyā. It is a commentary on Parāsara Smṛti prescribing rules for the rituals of the Hindus. Mādhavācārya added a section on Vyavahāra which was not treated by Parāsara.

Sāyaṇa, younger brother of Mādhavācārya, was a great scholar and a prolific writer. His greatest contribution is his commentaries on the Vēdas: Taittirīyāraṇyakābhāṣya, Sukla Yajurvēda Saṁ hitābhāṣya, Vaṁ sabrāhmaṇabhāṣya, Taittirīyāsaṁ hitābhāṣya, Sāmavēdasaṁ hitābhāṣya, Atharvavēdasaṁhitābhāṣya and Ṛgvēdasaṁhitābhāṣya. He was also the author of Prāyascittasudhānidhi, also known as Karmavipāka, a work describing penances, Yajñ atantra-Sudhānidhi,a manual on ritual and Puruṣārthasudhānidhi, a compendium of Purāṇic teachings.

Sāyaṇa Mādhavācārya was another notable writer of the Saṅgama period. Like Vidyāraṇya he was closely associated with the rulers of that dynasty. His Sarvadarsanasaṅgraha, as the title itself indicates, deals with the various schools of philosophy: Cārvāka, Bauddha, Jaina, Rāmānuja, Pūrnaprajña, Nakulēsa Pāsupata, Saiva Darsana, Pratyabhijña, Rasēsvara, Vaisēṣika, Akṣapāda, Jiminīya, Pāṇinīya, Sānkhya , and Pātanjalīya.

Vēdānta Dēsika was the most versatile and the most prolific of the Srī Vaiṣṇava writers. He had written many works in Sanskrit, in Tamil and in Tamil-cum-Sanskrit or the Maṇipravāḷa. His traditional biographies record the number of his works as one hundred and odd. Among them

mention should be made of works which have a direct bearing on the subject.

Śata Dūṣani

It is a refutation of the philosophy of Śaṅkara. It originally contained 101 refutations but only 66 refutations are available. The Caṇḍa Māruta is a commentary on Śata Dūṣani composed by Doddayācārya (16th century A.D.). In this work Vēdānta Dēśika not only refuted the philosophy of Śaṅkara but also of the cult and practices of the Sanyasins of the Smārta or Advaita School.

Brahmasūtra Vṛtti

Brahmasūtra Vṛtti of Praudha Dēvarāya is a gloss on Brahma Sūtras of Badarayana following the Advaita of Śaṅkara. The colophon ascribes the work to king Praudha Dēvarāya. This work closely followed the Śaṅkara Bhāṣya and the Bhāmati. The commentary is called Pampa in the colophon. In the introductory verses the author paid obeisance to Gaṇēśa and Śiva.

Nyāyāmṛta

Vyāsarāja's Nyāyāmṛta is a very important philosophical treatise of this period. It contains a systematic refutation of the arguments advanced in favour of the Advaita school. Eulogising the greatness of dualism, the author builds his arguments in a masterly manner in favour of the philosophy of Madhva. The work is divided into four chapters or Parichchēdās. The various definitions of Mithyatva (the concept of unreality) propounded by the Advaitins are analysed and refuted. He also raises several crucial points such as whether the universe is to be regarded as utterly unreal or noumenally unreal. Absolute denial would make the world non- existent which amounts to Nihilism of the Buddhists. The distinction of reality into phenomenal and noumenal is also not acceptable since it would be unfair to speak of denying the world in a noumenal sense.

Yuktimallikā

Vādirāja's Yuktimallikā containing 5379 slokas is divided into five chapters called Saurabhās. He established Viṣṇu as the supreme Brahman quoting his proofs from several texts like Bhāgavata Purāṇa. This was necessitated by the prevailing rivalry among the religious sects in the Vijayanagara empire in the 16th century. To place the Vaiṣṇavism of Madhva on an unshakable basis, Vādirāja devoted the last chapter of the Yuktimallikā to the discussion of the Dvaitins' view of Mōkṣa, Madhva as an avatar of Vāyu and the vindication of the taptamudrāṁkaṇa or the

branding of the body with the symbols sacred to Vaiṣṇavism. Vādirāja attacks the concept of Nirguṇa Brahman as unsāstraic.

Vādirāja's Tīrtha Prabandha is a unique metrical work in Sanskrit giving an account of the various Hindu temples and places of pilgrimage, visited by Vādirāja during his tour in India. The work is divided into four sections--northern tour, eastern, southern and western.

Rāmānuja Dāsa alias Mahācārya (16th century A.D.) was one of the greatest of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava writers. His work Caṇḍa Māruta, a super commentary on the Śata Dūṣani of Vēdānta Dēsika was an outstanding contribution to Visiṣṭādvaitic thought.

Madhuravijayam

Princess Gaṅgādēvī's Madhuravijayam gives an account of the conquest of Madhura by her husband Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa. This work throws much light on the distressing conditions prevailing in the Madhura region following the Muslim invasions in that part of the country. We learn from the poem that a mysterious lady appeared before Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa, described the pitiable condition to which the country had been reduced by the Mussalamans, exhorted him to destroy the enemy and restore the country to its former glory. She said, "The temples in the land have fallen into neglect as worship in them has been stopped. Within their walls the frightful howls of jackals have taken the place of the sweet reverberations of the mridaṅga. Like the Turuṣkas who know no limits, the Kāvēri has forgotten her ancient boundaries and brings frequent destruction with her floods. The sweet odour of the sacrificial smoke and the chant of the Vēdas have deserted the villages (agrahāras) which are now filled with the foul smell of roasted flesh and the fierce noises of the ruffianly Turuṣkas. The suburban gardens of Madhurā present a most painful sight; many of their beautiful coconut palms have been cut down; and on every side are seen rows of stakes from which swing strings of human skulls strung together. The Tāmraparṇi is flowing red with the blood of slaughtered cows. The Vēda is forgotten and justice has gone into hiding; there is not left any trace of virtue or nobility in the land and despair is writ large on the faces of the unfortunate Drāviḍas." At the end of her speech, the lady produced a mighty sword, the symbol of Pāṇḍya sovereignty and spoke thus, " This sword,! O! King! was wrought of yore by Visvakarma from the essences of all the heavenly instruments of war for the use of Lord Śiva in his fight against the Asuras. He then gave it to the Pāṇḍyan King who pleased him by his penances, and with its aid successive rulers of his dynasty held unrivalled swav for a long time. And now finding that, by dint of fate, the kings of

the Pāṅḍya line have lost their prowess, (the sage) Agastya has despatched this sword to be placed in your strong hands."

Rāmābhyudayam

This poem composed by Sāḷuva Narsiṁha narrates the story of Rāmāyaṇa. The author gives some information about his ancestors in the beginning of the first canto. He states that Sāḷuva Maṅgi or Sāḷuva Maṅgu, one of the six sons of Sāḷuva Guṇḍa, followed Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa in his Southern expedition and after defeating Caṁpurāya proceeded against the Sultān of Madhura. He defeated the Sultān in a hard battle in which the latter lost his life and marching across the river Tāmraparṇi reached Śrīraṅgam. He is said to have made innumerable grants to Lord Śrīraṅganātha, the most important being the gift of a thousand sālagramas and eight villages. From the work we learn that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was born to his parents Guṇḍa and Mallāmbika with the blessings of God Narasiṁha of Ahōbilam.

Sāḷuvābhyudayam

Rājanātha Diṇḍima's Sāḷuvābhyudayam, singing the glories of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha furnishes information about the role of General Sāḷuva Mangu, one of the ancestors of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha and a devotee of Lord Śrīraṅganātha in the cause of Vaiṣṇavism. It also throws light on the Vaiṣṇava leanings of the Sāḷuvas. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha's parents, Guṇḍa III and Mallāmbika, were great devotees of God Narasiṁha of Ahōbilam and with His blessings begot that son. And it was believed that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was an incarnation of God Narasiṁha of Ahōbilam.

Jāmbavatī Kalyāṇam

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, the greatest of the Vijayanagara rulers, was a gifted scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu. His Jāmbavatī Kalyāṇam, a Sanskrit drama describing the marriage of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with Jāmbavatī, is stated to have been put on boards before large audiences assembled to witness the celebrations of the Caitra or spring carnival of Śrī Virūpākṣa, the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara Kings. The invocatory verses of this drama throw light on the religious proclivities of the great Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

Acyutarāyabhyudayam

Rājanātha Diṇḍima's Acyutarāyabhyudayam, recounting the victories of Acyutarāya against Tiruvaḍi, is mainly useful for a study of the political history of the time. However, it gives the important information relevant to this study that the king's coronation was first performed at Tirupati where he was bathed in water poured out of the conch decorat-

ing the hand of Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara (V.36). The blessings of Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara are sought for the welfare of King Acyutarāya at the beginning of the work. The beautiful stōtras on Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara (VIII, VV 31-40) and on Śrīraṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam containing the praise of ten avatars of Viṣṇu (VII,V, V 35-37, VV 45-57) show that Acyutarāya was a devout Vaiṣṇava.

Vyāsayōgicaritam

Sōmanātha's Vyāsayōgicaritam is a biography of the Madhva saint Vyāsarāja, the author of Nyāyāmṛta. The author was a contemporary of King Acyutadēvarāya. The work, while narrating the life history of Vyāsarāja, refers to the earlier pontiffs who guided the destinies of Śrīpādarāya's Maṭha at Mulbāgaḷ during the reigns of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha and Immaḍi Narasiṁha. It is also useful in assessing the hold the teachers of this Saṁpradāya had over the subjects of Vijayanagara and the patronage extended to teachers of this school by successive rulers of the Vijayanagara empire. It also throws much welcome light on the development of the philosophy and ritual of the adherents of the Madhva school of thought.

Prapannāmṛitam

Anantācārya's Prapannāmṛitam is essentially a Vaiṣṇava work and has for its theme the story of the Āḷvārs and the great Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānuja. In its treatment of the Vaiṣṇava school, this work closely resembles the Telugu work Paramayōgivilāsamu. The Prapannāmṛitam contains an account of the conversion of KingVirūpākṣa from Saivism to Vaiṣṇavism. This work is particularly useful for the present study since it reflects the contemporary religious practices of the Vaiṣṇavas and worship and ritual in the celebrated shrine of Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam. Incidentally it also throws some light on the Siddha cult.

TELUGU LITERATURE

Uttaraharivaṁsamu

A court poet of Bukka I, Nācana Sōmanātha's Uttaraharivaṁsamu is a sequel to Tikkana Sōmayaji's Mahābhārata. Dedicated to Hariharanātha, a syncretic god, Uttaraharivaṁsamu was written to establish the abheda between Śiva and Viṣṇu and bring about concord between the followers of Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism between whom apparently there was some discord during this period. The work, while highlight-

ing the cult of Viṣṇu, seeks to establish the absence of any bheda between the various forms and names of Viṣṇu and those of Śiva.

Haravilāsamu

Śrīnātha's Haravilāsamu was dedicated to Avaci Tippaya Śeṭṭi, a boyhood friend of the author. He occupied a very influential position at the Court of the Reḍḍi Kings of Koṇḍavīḍu. Haravilāsamu contains seven cantos describing the story of Cirutondanaṁbi, destruction of Manmatha, marriage of Pārvatī with Śiva, adventures of Śiva in the Dārukavana, churning of the milk ocean and finally Arjuna's penance or Kirātārjunīyamu. It helps us to understand the struggle for ascendancy between the orthodox and liberal trends in Śaivism. Cirutondanaṁbi is representative of the orthodox Śaivism of the Basava school. Avaci Tippaya was a staunch Śaivite though not intolerant of other creeds. Tippaya describes himself as a Paramamāhēśvara. His ancestors were however patrons of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. They are described as Śaiva- Vaiṣṇava Samayādikasaviśēṣadhyānamanasulu.

Śivarātrimāhātmyamu

Śrīnātha's Śivarātrimāhātmyamu dedicated to Mummaḍi Śāntayya, a disciple of Śānta Bhikṣāvṛtti, pontiff of the Bhikṣāvṛitti Maṭha at Śrīśailam, is based on the Iśāna Saṁhita contained in the Skanda Purāṇa. As the title itself indicates this work represents an attempt to bring about the greatness of the Śivarātri-vrata. The theme, centering round the story of Sukumāra, son of Yajñadatta, minister of King Hēmāngada of Ratnapuri, is illustrative of the spirit of the age which held that the mere performance of the Śivarātri-vrata was sufficient to neutralise the evil effects of innumerable sins committed by the performer of the Vrata. This work also throws some light on the worship of Dēvī and Kālī and Taṁtric rituals.

Kāśīkhaṇḍamu

Śrīnātha's Kāśīkhaṇḍamu, dedicated to Vīrabhadrāreḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram, is based on the Skanda Purāṇa. The work deals, inter alia, with Kāśī as the centre of Hindu religious life as also with the various centres of pilgrimage in South India. It is relevant to note that though essentially a Śaiva work it contains a number of laudatory references to Vaiṣṇavism which clearly indicate the liberalism of the author's Śaiva faith.

Navanātha Caritra

Gaurana's Navanātha Caritra is in Dvipāda metre. Written at the instance of Mukti Śāntārya of the Bhikṣāvṛtti Maṭha at Śrīśailam, the work

furnishes a valuable account of the cult of the Natha Gurus. It also exposes the chinks in the moral armour of some teachers of this cult.

Jaiminī Bhāratamu

Pillalamarri Pinavīrabhadra's Jaiminī Bhāratamu, dedicated to Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, the first king of the second dynasty, recounts in the introductory verses the services of Sāḷuva Maṅgu, a General of Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa, to the cause of Vaiṣṇava religion. After defeating the Sultān of Madhura, Maṅgu is stated to have restored the image of Śrīraṅganātha to its original abode at Śrīraṅgam and presented sixty thousand maḍas for service in the shrine. From this work we also learn that the poet's patron Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was a great devotee of Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara of Tirupati.

Saṅkīrtana literature

The memorable contribution of the age to Vaiṣṇavism was made by the Tāḷḷapākkam poets, through their Saṅkīrtanas engraved on copper plates and preserved in a small room in the temple of Veṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala. Annamācārya, the earliest member of the family, composed Saṅkīrtanas in praise of Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara. They are of two kinds--Adhyātma Saṅkīrtanalu and Śriṅgāra Saṅkīrtanalu. Both the Saṅkīrtanas were intended for the inculcation of Bhakti to the Supreme Being, particularly to Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara, as the only force capable of granting redemption to the suffering mankind. The theme of the Śringāra Saṅkīrtanas is the soliloquy of a love- lorn maiden pouring out her pangs of love for her lover. Annamācārya deplores the depravity of a man's life not dedicated to God's service and extols the merit that would accrue from accepting Vaiṣṇavism and becoming the devotee of Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara. He propounded the doctrine of Prapatti or self-surrender as the only means of God realisation. Annamācārya was not an escapist and accepted Saṁsāra or worldly life as an unavoidable element on the way to final emancipation. Thus the Saṅkīrtana literature throws valuable light on the spread of Bhakti movement with reference to the cult of Veṅkaṭēśvara in the Vijayanagara Empire.

Paramayōgivilāsamu. Tiruveṅgaḷanāthas' Paramayōgivilāsamu enunciates Rāmānuja's theory of Prapatti and narrates the history of the Āḻvārs and the Ācāryas. Starting with an invocation to Alamēlumaṅga, the work essays to establish the catholicity of Vaiṣṇavism and the superiority of its followers. It also furnishes interesting material for a study of the factors which contributed to the popularity of this faith among the masses.

Āmuktamālyada

Emperor Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's magnum opus, the Āmuktamālyada is a veritable treasure-house of information concerning several aspects of contemporary religious life and thought. It is based on sources like the Divyasūricarita of Garuḍavāhāna Paṅḍita, a disciple of the great Rāmānuja, and the Guruparaṁ parāprabhāva, written in Maṇipravāḷa style by Pinjajayagīya Perumāḷ Jiyar. Divided into seven chapters, each chapter beginning with an invocation to Veṅkaṭanātha, the patron deity of the royal author, the Āmuktamālyada furnishes an excellent account of Vaiṣṇavism in general and the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Rāmānuja in particular. Being a keen observer of men and matters, the author dilates at length upon popular beliefs, religious fairs and festivals, the attitude and habits of village folk as well as townsmen. It is indeed a magnificent source book for a study of the religious conditions in the Vijayanagara Empire during the reign of its greatest monarch.

Manucaritramu

The author Peddana claimed to be a disciple of the Vaiṣṇava apostle Śaṭhagōpayati. But he was not a fanatic. And this is clearly borne out by, among other things, his invocations, in the introductory verses of the Manucaritramu to Gaṇēśa, Viṣṇu, Śiva and other deities. In fact, this catholicity of religious outlook was a characteristic feature of the attitudes of all the contemporary writers and is clearly reflected in their writings.

Pārijātāpahāraṇamu

Naṅdi Timmaṇa's Pārijātāpahāraṇamu is an adaptation from the Sanskrit Harivaṁśam. The theme of the original has been altered in some respects by Timmana so as to keep it in harmony with the religious proclivities of his sovereign, Kṛṣṇadēyarāya, and the times. Timmana was the disciple of Aghōraśivācārya, a Śaiva divine. But his work, like the work of his contemporaries, clearly indicates that intellectuals of the times, notwithstanding their particular religious affiliations, were no fanatics but were equally at home with Vaiṣṇava lore and Śaiva literature. Timmana makes an elegant comparison of the glory of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

Kāḷahastimāhātmyamu

Dhūrjaṭi's Kāḷahastimāhātyamu, dedicated to the author's Iṣṭadēvata, ŚrīKāḷahastīśvara, is a panegyric of Śiva emphasising the ease with which the grace of the Lord could be obtained even by animals, reptiles and insects through devotion. This work throws some light on Śaivaite prac-

tices as enjoined in the Āgamas and Śaivaite religious texts. Dhūrjaṭi's description of the Jaṅgama, the moving Māhēśvara, might be taken as typical of the contemporary Vīra Śaiva divines, who admitted into the fold of their faith even prostitutes. From this work we also learn that Dhūrjaṭi was an Upāsaka of Śrīvidya.

In the introductory verses Dhūrjaṭi describes the power and significance of Bhairava maṅtra and Bhairava Cakra. Nakulī and Vārāhī are the attendant deities of the goddess Rājarājēśvari Dēvī. The world shudders at the very name of them. Even those ferocious goddesses shiver when they hear the very first letter of the Bhairava maṅtra called Bhai emanating from the mouth of the dog; similarly, Nakulī and Vārāhī leap to their feet at the very hearing of the first letter of the Bhairava maṅtra. From the verse it is inferred that Dhūrjaṭi was a worshipper of Śrī Cakra and Śrī Vidyā. The importance given to the worship of the Jaṅgamas is vividly described in this work. The Jaṅgamas commanded respect from the Vīra Śaivas and received whatever they wanted from their followers. The story of a Dāsi living in Narāyaṇavanam is reflective of the influence of the Jaṅgamas of the period.

Rājaśēkharacaritramu

Rājaśēkharacaritra of Mādayyagāri Mallana was dedicated to Nādiṅdla Appamaṅtri, the nephew and son-in-law of Timmarasu maṅtri, the great minister of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Mallana was a devotee of Śiva (Śaṅkara pādasēvana Vasaṁvada mānasa Paṅkajāta) and a disciple of the Śaiva divine Aghōra Śivācārya. Though the poet was a follower of Śaivism, he dedicated his work to Appa Maṅtri who was a Vaiṣṇava by faith. In order to please his patron, the author invoked Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara at the beginning of his work. Ciṅtalapūḍi Yellanārya alias Radhāmādhavakavi was a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya though it is not certain whether he was a court poet of the king or not. It is probable that he adorned the royal Court since he states that he was felicitated by King Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. (Rādhāmādhavamu-1-30). He was the author of Rādhāmādhavamu, Tāraka Brahmarājīyamu and Viṣṇumāyānāṭakamu. The first and the last works are dedicated to God Madanagōpāla. The second work, Tārakabrahmarājīyamu, was dedicated to Śrī Rāma in accordance with the desire of his patron Naṅjarusu Timmaya, an officer of Acyutadēvarāya. Yellanārya was a worshipper of the lotus feet of Madana gōpāla. The Rādhākṛṣṇa or Rādhāmādhava cult, which was popularised by Caitanya in Orissa and Andhra at the end of fifteenth century, might have influenced Yellanārya in composing Rādhāmādhavamu which deals with the Rādhākṛṣṇa cult. At the beginning of his work Yellanārya praised Jayadēva the poet to whom the Radhākṛṣṇa

cult owed its popularity in Bengal. Jayadēva's Gīta Gōvinda is a very famous work profound in Bhakti. Rādhāmādhavamu of Yellanārya throws welcome light on the Kṛṣṇabhakti movement that spread during the Vijayanagara period.

Tārakabrahmarājīyamu

This is another work of Yellanārya. It contains five Āsvāsās dealing with the significance and greatness of Śrī Rāma Tāraka mantra, or the Divine name of Lord Śrī Rāma. Agastya accompanied by his wife Lōpāmudra crossed the Vindhyas, entered South India and reached Rāmēsvaram. There he taught the Tāraka mantra to the Risis who assembled there. Vāmadēva, the disciple of Vasista Muni, was also initiated into the Tāraka Brahma mantra by Agastya.

The author Yellanārya introduced the story of Dharmadhvaja King of Maharastra,to prove the greatness of Tāraka mantra. A certain Brahman while visiting the sacred places happens to develop illicit relationship with a hunter woman, and elopes with her. On coming to know of their affair, the woman's husband chases them and kills them while they were living in the King's court. There upon the hunter was beheaded by the King for killing the Brahman and his wife. While dying they all uttered the name of Rāma and so they all attained Vaikuntha. This story proves that the Rāma mantra is capable of granting Vaikuntha to those by virtue of their uttering the Rāma mantra irrespective of their sins. The work also describes the installation of the Rāmēsvara linga, Siva receiving Tāraka mantra and Rāma's Vanavāsa,etc.

Visnumāyānātakamu

This is a poem describing the sportive aspect of Lord Visnu in five Āsvāsās (Māyāvilāsamu).The stories of Visnu which are related in the Purānas have been collected and collated in the Visnumāyānātakamu. The whole universe was created by the Māyāsakti of Visnu. Brahma and other gods,because of their ignorance of this truth, act according to the dictates of Māya and ultimately realise their folly and submit themselves to divine power. Though the spiritual aspirant might control senses or indriyas,acquire jñāna and develop vairagya, renounce egoism, practise prapatti and is devoted exclusively to the Lord, still if he does not obey the Visnu Māya or the Divine sport, he cannot attain Mukti from the worldly entanglements. This is the central idea of Visnumāyānātakamu. At the beginning of the work, Yellanārya introduces the greatness of the sportive power of Visnu or Visnu Māya and the relation of Prakriti and Purusa. The existence of the three worlds and the activity of the worlds are the creations of the sportive power of Visnu.Māya is the Prakriti and

Viṣṇu is the Puruṣa. He is the pure effulgence. Beyond Him there is no light. This work brings out essentially the importance of Hari Bhakti and supremacy of Lord Viṣṇu over other Gods through stories depicting his superior powers.

Pāṅḍuraṅgamāhātmyamu

The place of pride among the Vaiṣṇava works in Telugu written during this period belongs to the satirist and humorist poet of the age Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa's Pāṅḍuraṅgamāhātmyamu. Rāmakṛṣṇa, a staunch Vaiṣṇava, dedicated his work to Virūri Vēdādri Mantri. The theme of the work centres round the story of Puṅḍalīka, a great devotee of Viṣṇu, and the sanctity of Puṅḍalīkaksetra or Pandharpur, in Maharastra, where, it is stated, at the request of his devotees Lord Viṣṇu took His abode as Pāṅḍuraṅga Viṭhal or Viṭhōba. The Viṭhōba school formed a part of the Bhakti movement which was gaining momentum during the period under review. The Viṭhōba school, which was peculiar to Mahārastra and Western India, appears from the evidence of Rāmakṛṣṇa's work, to have spilled over into the Vijayanagara empire also. Through the story of Acyuta and the stories depicting the pranks of Kṛṣṇa in His boyhood, the author tries to bring home to the readers the fact that even householders, notwithstanding their involvement in wordly entanglements and without any reference to their caste or creed, could attain Mōkṣa if only they surrendered themselves to the Lord unreservedly.

Rāyavācakamu

The Rāyavācakamu is a work in colloquial Telugu prose said to have been written at the behest of Visvanātha Nāyaka by his agent at the court of Vijayanagara in the time of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Though based on hearsay, the work, dealing with the Rāya's expedition, forms since it is not far removed from the actual dates of the incidents described a dependable version of the day to day incidents connected with the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. As introduction to his main theme the author refers to the foundation of the city and kingdom of Vijayanagara and the part played by the Śṛṅgēri pontiff, Vidyāraṇya, in that memorable achievement. The author gives a graphic description of the numerous Mahādanas, like the Tulāpuruṣa, the Ratnadhēnu, and the Saptasāgara described by Hēmādri in his Dānacintāmaṇi, performed by the great Rāya at Amarāvati, Śrīraṅgam, Jaṁbukeśvaram, Kāḷahasti, Tirumala, etc., as a token of his gratitude to the Lords of those different places for the victories conferred upon him. This account finds corroboration in the epigraphical records of the Rāya.

Ācāryasūktimuktāvaḷi

The author of this work, Naṁ būri Kēśavācārya, was a disciple of Prativādi Bhayaṅkarācārya. This was essentially composed for the propagation of Vaiṣṇavism as it deals with the biographies of the Āḷvārs and Ācāryas, the great Vaiṣṇava leader Rāmānuja, Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, Alagīyamanayāḷa Perumāḷ, Piḷḷai Lōkācārya, Manavāḷa Mahāmuni, Vēdānta Dēśika and his son Varadanātha. The work throws valuable light on the performance of Vratas which are particularly sacred to the Vaiṣṇavas like Ekādasi, Jayaṅti, Dhanurmāsa and the celebration of the birth asterisms of the Āḷvārs. It also brings out the importance of the Puṅdras decorating the bodies of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, Pañcasaṁskaras and other aspects of Vaiṣṇava ritualism (p.288). The author projects the Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrine in different places of the work to establish this school of thought and his knowledge of the doctrine (p.394).

The procedure to be followed when a Śrī Vaiṣṇava dies is described in the work.

KANNADA LITERATURE

Much of the Kannaḍa literature of this period was inspired by the Vīra Śaiva divines and their philosophy. The theme of the Kannaḍa works centered round Śiva and his Līlas, Śaivaite saints, the Nāyanārs of the South, miracles performed by Basava and his followers, the supreme sanctity of the Pañcākṣari, etc.

Guruliṅgavibhu's Bhikṣāṭanacaritra describes one of the līlas of Śiva in which He cut off one of the heads of Brahma and His wanderings round the world, with a skull in his hand, to free himself from the sin of Brahma-hatya. Mention may be made of Svētana- Sāṅgatya by Mallikārjuna. The lives of the 63 Śaiva saints had a good hold over the minds of the Vīra Śaiva writers. The story of Suṅdara Naṁbi was the theme of Souṅdara Purāṇa written by Bommarasa in A.D. 1430.

Bhīma Kavi's Basavapurāṇa deals with exploits of Basava and his followers, closely following Pālkuriki Sōmanātha's Basavapurāṇa. Bhīmakavi's work, besides being a "source of their (Basava and his followers) legendary lore", furnishes a good account of the philosophy and practices of the Vīra Śaivas. Lakkana Daṅḍēśa's Basavapurāṇa, A.D. 1428, is a biography of Basava and describes graphically the miracles performed by him. Siṅgarāja followed Lakkanna Daṅḍēśa in his Māla Basava Carita when he described the life of Basava with an account of the miracles performed by him.

Cāmarasa's Prabhuliṅgalīla is a notable work in Vīra Śaiva literature. It deals with the story of Allamaprabhu, a symbol of all the intricacies of the Vīra Śaiva cult. Allamaprabhu was noble and exemplary in character representing the spiritualism of the Vīra Śaiva thought. Pālkuriki Someśvara Purāṇa is a biographical account of Pālkuriki Sōma by Vīrakta Toṇṭadārya.

Vīrabhadrarāja's Vīrabhadravijaya has for its theme the story of Dakṣa's Yajña. It describes in detail how Pārvatī out of filial affection, though uninvited, went to attend the Yajña performed by her father, Dakṣa, and unable to bear the humiliating treatment accorded her by her father killed herself and how the grief-stricken and enraged Śiva created Vīrabhadra, an incarnation of himself, who caused havoc to Dakṣa's sacrifice and killed him.

There is in Kannaḍa a rich heritage of devotional songs, popularly called Dāsari Padagaḷu. The composers of these songs were Dāsas, who spontaneously expressed their feelings about world, soul and the Supreme Being. Among these composers particular mention should be made of Śrīpādarāya, Purandāra Dāsa and Kanaka Dāsa. These Haridāsas were all followers of the Madhva School of Vaiṣṇavism and through their devotional songs greatly contributed to the popular appeal of the Madhva sect.

TAMIL

During the period of the Vijayanagara rule many Tamil scholars flourished, who enriched Tamil literature by the production of important works of a religious character. Tattvaprakāsa Svāmigaḷ of Tiruvarūr composed Tatvaprakāsam expounding the Śaiva philosophy. Vaḍamalai Aṇṇagaḷayyan who was a Vaiṣṇava by faith was the author of the Irusamaya Viḷakkam establishing the superiority of Vaiṣṇavism. Jñānaprakāsa Dēsikar wrote Kacci Kāḷambakam describing the greatness of Kañci.

INSCRIPTIONS

Constituting one of the vital sources of information, inscriptions are of two varieties - those engraved on copper- plates and those written on stone. The latter are far more in number. Both are generally donative in character and register gifts of various kinds made by men and women from all walks of life to temples and Maṭhas, Satras and Calivandiras, religious divines and learned Brahmans. Some of these epigraphs record

construction of temples and Maṭhas, consecration of images and structural improvements effected in temples. Inscriptions contained in contemporary epigraphical records may be analysed under several heads: donor, donee, object, purpose and occasion of the gift, composer of the record, etc. Where the donor happens to be a king or a general, a minister or some other dignitary in the service of the state, the information usually relates to his name and ancestry, his status, social and political, his titles and achievements. Where the donee happens to be a temple or a Maṭha, the information relates to the name of the presiding deity of the temple, nature of service conducted in the shrine, the denomination of the Maṭha and its activities, the staff of the institution, etc.

Inscriptions, especially epigraphs, throw considerable light upon the practical side of religion. They refer not only to the construction of the temples but alsotogifts made to them for their maintenance (Khaṇḍasputitha Jīrnōdharaṇa). The gifts were intended for several purposes. They make provision for carrying on not only daily worship such as offering oblations, lighting lamps, daily services but also the weekly, fortnightly, monthly and annual festivals celebrated in the temples. The inscriptions also give account of the temple and its hierarchy of servants, who carried on various duties in the service of the temples. Provision was made for the maintenance of the various classes of temple servants in the inscriptions. The temple, therefore, became the cultural centre where music, both vocal and instrumental, as well as dance flourished. Several inscriptions of the Vijayanagara monarchs make special provision for the maintenance of the Paurāṇikas, the musicians, both vocal and instrumental, and dancers, both male and female.

Some of the inscriptions refer to Maṭhas belonging to different religious denominations and liberal gifts were made for the maintenance of the inmates of the Maṭhas, which not only propagated religion but also maintained schools in which religious and secular education was imparted to the people. Some of the Maṭhas maintained hospitals in which medical treatment was given free to all who were stricken with disease. Such were the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha of the Smārtas at Śṛṅgēri, the Kāmakōṭi Pītha of Saṅkara at Kaṅci, the Bhikṣāvṛitti Maṭha belonging to the Vīra Saiva school, Bhikṣā Maṭha of the Pāsupatas, the Ahōbilam Maṭha of the Vaḍagalai Śrī Vaiṣṇavas at Ahōbilam, the Brahmataṅtra Svataṅtra Jiyar Maṭha of the Teṅgalai Śrī Vaiṣṇavas at Kaṅci, Yatirāja Maṭha at Melkōṭe, Vyāsarāya Maṭha of the Madhva Saṁpradāya at Sosale, Aṣṭa Maṭhas of Udipi of the same Saṁpradāya, etc. The Śṛṅgēri Maṭha and Kāmakōṭi Maṭha enjoyed the patronage of the rulers of the Saṅgama and Tuḷuva dynasties. For example, in A.D. 1346 the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha received nine villages in Sāntaligenāḍ from King Harihara.[1]

A Sanskrit record in Nagari engraved on three copper-plates dated A.D. 1516 registering a gift by King Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of the village Cikkabbehalli to the Madhva leader Vyāsa Rāya furnishes the valuable information that he was the disciple of Brahmanya Tīrtha. This unique record corroborates the evidence of Sōmanātha's Vyāsayōgicaritam.[2] Three epigraphs in Tamil dated A.D. 1524 are of considerable importance regarding the spread of Madhva religion and the great influence exercised over King Kṛṣṇadēvarāya by Vyāsa Rāya. The great Vaiṣṇava Siddhānta Pratiṣṭapanācārya Vyāsa Tīrtha Śrīpāda was authorised to build the Maṭhas of his school at Tirumala and Tirupati.[3] The Padmāvati basti record of Humca is a valuable epigraph containing information about the life and activities of the celebrated Vādi Vidyānanda who spread the Jina Dharma in the different parts of the Vijayanagara Empire.[4] Occasionally the inscriptions give glimpses of the mutual relations between the various sects. The cult of Hariharanātha, a syncretist God combining in Himself the form of Hari and Hara gained popularity as a result of the efforts of the poets and religious leaders of the period to bridge the differences between the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. According to an inscription, dated A.D. 1382 there was a temple dedicated to God Hariharēśvara at Hampi.[5] The liberal spirit prevailing in the Empire is reflected in an epigraph dated A.D. 1397 which gives the following message of Unity in Diversity: "The Śāsana of Kēśava, the Lord of Vēlāpura: He whom the Śaivas worship as Śiva, the Vēdāntins as Brahma, the Buddhas as Buddha, the Naiyayikas skilled in proof as Karta, the followers of Jaina Darsana as Arhat, the Mīmāmsakas as Karma."[6] Though the followers of the various sects lived in amity, religious strife and persecutions were not unknown. In the early days of the Vijayanagara Empire there was strife between the Vaiṣṇavas and Jainas in which the latter appears to have suffered heavily. A Rāmānuja edict dated A.D. 1368 throws light on how a dispute arose between these two Darsanas and how it was settled by King Bukka.[7] Another instance of religious persecution is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1511 at Śrīsailam where a pontiff by the name of Śānta Linga is said to have beheaded a large number of Svētambara Jainas.[8] The rulers of Vijayanagara, however, never tolerated religious persecutions. The empire was a secular state in the real sense of the term and the King, whatever may have been his personal leanings, protected and patronised the various sects and their followers. In this connection the Rāmānuja edict of Bukka I, of which copies were indited on stone in several parts of the empire, may be mentioned. The record states that the King summoned in an assembly the warring Vaiṣṇava and Jaina sectarians, told them that all religions showed the path to the same goal and one sect should protect the other. This famous edict gives an insight into the highly enlightened religious policy of the emperors of Vijayanagara until the

very end. They not only extended their patronage and protection to the Hindu sects but also Islam which was in deadly conflict with their own faith. Emperors of Vijayanagara like Dēvarāya I, Dēvarāya II, Acyutarāya and Aḷiya Rāmarāja, Śrīraṅgarāya and others built mosques for their Muslim subjects and endowed them with gifts of land, so that their Muslim subjects practise their religion without hindrance or opposition.[8] According to an inscription dated A.D. 1639-40 Vīra Narasiṅgarāya, Sadāśivarāya and Veṅkaṭa II granted some villages to the Bābayya Daraga, a notable institution of the Muslims at Penugoṇḍa.[9] That the Muslim officers of the Vijayanagara rulers emulated their emperors in their religious eclecticism is known from an epigraph dated A.D. 1551 recording a gift of 25 varahas by Ekādaḷakhāna Voḍeya, an officer of Veṅkaṭadrirāja, for conducting the purification ceremony in the Kōṭēśvara temple at Kōṭēśvar.[10]

ACCOUNTS OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS

A number of foreign travellers, like Nicolo Conti, Abdur Razzak, Paes and Nuniz visited Vijayanagara during the period under discussion. Some of them travelled extensively in the empire and recorded their impressions of men and matters in the Empire. Notwithstanding their religious prejudices and ignorance of local languages and the subtleties of local beliefs and customs, their accounts constitute an important source of information for the present study.

Nicolo Conti, a Venetian, visited Vijayanagara about the year A.D.1420,after the accession of Dēvarāya II. He stayed for some time at the capital and also made an extensive tour of the Empire. His impressions, recorded in Latin, were translated into Portuguese. Conti's account includes interesting references to the celebrations in connection with the New Year's Day, Dīpāvaḷi and Mahārnavami. He also refers to the popular religious beliefs.

Abdur Razzak, a Persian, also visited Vijayanagara in A.D.1442 during the reign of Dēvarāya II. About the capital city he says,"The city of Bidjanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world." Razzak's account furnishes useful information concerning festivals and other religious practices of the people of the time. He describes the Mahārnavami festival.

Domingo Paes was a visitor to Vijayanagara during the reign of the great Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Paes's impressions include an elaborate account of the Mahānavami festival which was celebrated by the Vijayanagara rulers

with great pomp and splendour. Fernao Nuniz who visited Vijayanagara during the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya left behind him a very graphic picture of the power politics, religious beliefs, practices, and festivals. Nuniz was a keen observer and his account is by far the most interesting and informative of the sources in this category. Nuniz furnishes a retrospective story of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. The story given by Nuniz is corroborated by contemporary epigraphical records and literary works. From Nuniz's chronicles we learn that there were Moors in royal service of the Vijayanagara rulers. He describes the Sati Sahagamana or the practice of burning widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands and also the ceremonies practised at the death of Brahmans. The traveller's remarks about the confession of sins are particularly interesting. He regrets that in the Christian fashion Hindus do not confess sins. He gives a detailed account of the Mahānavami festival which supplements the information provided by Paes.

Duarte Barbosa's narrative was completed in A.D.1516 and published in A.D. 1524. It is entitled "Description of the East Indies and countries on the seaboard of the Indian Ocean". Based on his own personal observations, Barbosa's account furnishes much useful information about the social customs and religious practices, especially Sati, of the people of the time.

TRADITIONAL ACCOUNTS

To this category belong the Cāṭu Krutulu, the Mackenzie Manuscripts and the Local Records and certain literary works. The Cāṭu Krutulu are a collection of stray verses, witty, pleasant and jocular, composed by different poets on different occasions. They are a medley of colourful flattery and stinging satire aimed at an individual or family, place or time. By far the most interesting of these are attributed to Śrīnātha and are still very popular in the Andhra country. He had keen powers of observation and freely expressed his opinions, caustic as well as complimentary, on all aspects of life around him.

The second category of traditional accounts are the Kaifiyats preserved in the Mackenzie Manuscripts and the Local Records deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Colonel Mackenzie after whom the collection is named was a pioneer in the field of collecting traditional accounts. He was an Englishman who came to India and joined the Madras Engineers in 1782. He toured extensively in South India as a servant of the East India Company. During his tours his curiosity was roused by the temples, stone inscriptions and

the unique records called Kaviles which he came across at almost every place he visited. The Kaviles or Daṇḍakaviles were records maintained by and in the possession of the Karaṇams or village headmen. These records contain information concerning the political, social, economic and religious conditions of the village. Col. Mackenzie took pains to collect and classify these records with the help of Kavali Veṅkaṭa Borraiah of Ellore, Andhra Pradesh. Col. Mackenzie's collection included manuscripts bearing on history, ethnology, literature and tradition chiefly of the country south of the Kṛṣṇa river.

Literary works falling in the category of traditional accounts are the Vidyāraṇya Kāḷajñāna, the Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta, the Pitāmahasaṁhita, the Sivatatvaratnākara and the Paradāra Sōdara Rāmana Katha. The Vidyāraṇya Kāḷajñāna in Sanskrit is attributed to Vidyāraṇya himself. The object of this work, in the words of the author himself, was "the determination of the age of the kings of the royal family as given by Yogi Vidyāraṇya, pupil of Vidyāsaṅkara". The work also describes the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and the role of Vidyāraṇya in its foundation.

The Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta in Kannaḍa like the Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna furnishes a detailed account of the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara by Harihara and Bukka with the blessings of Vidyāraṇya.

The Pitāmahasaṁhita forms a part of the Kālajñāna literature said to have been written by Vidyāraṇya. Like the two above- mentioned works, the Pitāmahasaṁhita also furnishes a detailed account of the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara and the role of Vidyāraṇya in its foundation. It also provides information about the kings who ruled Vijayanagara upto Śrīraṅga whose reign ended in A.D. 1585.

Lakṣmaṇaśāstry's Guruvaṁśamahākāvya is a biographical work in Sanskrit of the successive teachers of the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha. Written under the orders of the Śṛṅgēri pontiff Sacchidānanda Bhārati, disciple of Nṛsiṁha Bhārati, the work begins with an account of Śaṅkarācārya, founder of the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha, and, tracing the line of successors to Vidyātīrtha, introduces us to the story of Vidyāraṇya and his association with the Śṛṅgēri pontiff Vidyātīrtha alias Vidyāśaṅkara. Like the other traditional accounts it elucidates the role of Vidyāraṇya in the foundation of city and empire of Vijayanagara. It also provides an explanation of how the Vēda Bhāṣyas written by Vidyāraṇya came to be known as Sāyaṇīya and Mādhavīya after Harihara's ministers Sāyaṇa and Mādhava respectively. This work also helps us in assessing the influence wielded by the Śṛṅgēri pontiffs with the rulers of Vijayanagara. Naṅjunda's Paradāra Sōdara Rāmana Katha, in Kannaḍa, deals with the heroic story of

Rāmanātha or Kumāra Rāma, son of Kaṁpilirāya of Kaṁpili which fell a prey to the invading armies of Muḥammad-bin- Tughlaq in the fourteenth century.The Ramana Katha provides a valuable account of the political condition of the Dakkan in the early part of the fourteenth century and of the rise of the Vijayanagara Empire. "In spite of the fact that more than two centuries elapsed between the death of Kumāra Rāma and the composition of the work and that poetic fancy plays a free part in the descriptions, the poem is remarkably valuable as a historical work. The facts mentioned in it about the political condition of the Dakkan in the early part of the fourteenth century are corroborated to a very surprising extent by the evidence of Nuniz and Ferishta."

Besides the traditional accounts mentioned above, there are some traditions associated with the Maṭhas and pontiffs, particularly of the Madhva Saṁpradāya which are significant in the context of the present study. Though their historical veracity is not above suspicion, certain practices observed in the temples and Maṭhas, commemorating their association with the religious teachers of the concerned Saṁpradāya, point towards the age-long belief in tradition.

NUMISMATICS

In scope, the usefulness of numismatics as a source of information for the present study is rather limited. The Vijayanagara emperors issued coins of gold, silver and copper bearing different emblems indicative of their particular religious affiliations as well as their spirit of toleration. For instance, the images of Hanumān and Garuḍa, of Lakṣmīnarāyaṇa and Lakṣmīnarasiṁha on some of the coins issued by the emperors of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, notwithstanding their strong personal leanings towards Saivism, is clear proof of their tolerant attitude in religious matters. The symbols on coins issued by emperors of the second and third dynasties clearly indicate that they strongly favoured Vaiṣṇavism.

FIRST DYNASTY:

1. Hanumān and Garuḍa in different poses.
2. Bull with a sword.
3. Elephant; Elephant and King.
4. Umāmāhēśvara; Lakṣmīnarāyaṇa; Sarasvatī- Brahma; Lakṣmi Narasiṁha.

SECOND DYNASTY:

1. Lion
2. Veṅkaṭēśa
3. Umāmāhēśvara
4. Bālakṛṣṇa
5. Bull
6. Garuḍa
7. Gaṅḍabheruṅḍa
8. Lakṣmī- Narāyaṇa
9. Durgā seated

THIRD DYNASTY:

1. Śrī Rāma
2. Conch and Discus
3. Garuḍa
4. Elephant
5. Boar
6. Bull- couchant
7. Veṅkaṭēśa
8. Hanumān
9. Veṅkaṭēśa

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's coins may be classified under the following types from the variety of devices displayed:

1. Veṅkaṭēśa
2. Śiva and Pārvatī
3. Garuḍa
4. Boar
5. Elephant
6. Bull
7. Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī seated with the King's hands folded.

Śrī Raṅgarāya	1. Veṅkaṭēśa
Veṅkaṭarāya I	1. Veṅkaṭēśa
	2. Garuḍa
	3. Hanumān
Śrī Raṅgarāya II	1. Bull-Couchant
Veṅkaṭa II	1. Veṅkaṭēśvara with consorts

SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

Contemporary sculpture and painting constitute another source of information in so far as both these branches of art were profoundly influenced by the religious beliefs of the people of the time. From another standpoint installation of images of the main deities and parivara dēvatas as also sculptural representations of scenes taken from the sacred texts as a visual aid to drive deep into popular consciousness the values of life as conceived by the ancients and sanctified by time and tradition. The erection of innumerable shrines to Vīrabhadra, the ferocious aspect of Śiva, indicates the great popularity of Śiva as Vīrabhadra. The cult of Vīrabhadra was popularised by the Liṅgāyats who attached greater importance to the worship of Vīrabhadra than the other aspects of Śiva. The installation of the images of the Nāyanārs in temples dedicated to Śiva was also common. As Vaiṣṇavism gained ascendancy during the period of the Sāḷuva and Tuḷuva dynasties, Kēśava, Lakṣmīnarasiṁha and Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa forms of Viṣṇu became popular. The stories of the ten incarnations or Dāśavatars of Viṣṇu found favour in the Vaiṣṇava works of the period found an equally important place in the sculptures of the period. The incarnation of Narasiṁha killing Hiraṇya Kaśīpa was an interesting sculpture. Erection of innumerable shrines for the Āḻvārs or Vaiṣṇava saints also attests to the popularity of the faith.

The interesting icons of the period were the syncretist images of Hariharanātha, a combination of Hari and Hara marking the final synthesis of the two opposing cults Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. The Hariharanātha cult was symbolic of the spirit of toleration of the period. There was a temple dedicated to God Harihara at Hampi itself. The existence of Dēvī temples dedicated to deities like Durgā, Cauḍēśvarī, Kālī, etc, and celebration of festivals in honour of these goddesses throw much light on popular cults and beliefs. The innumerable Nāgakals, Vīrakals, Sati stones, sculptures representing self-immolation found all over the empire provide good material for a study of the popular religion.

Illustrations from the Śaiva and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata epics represented in the sculptures of many temples show the impetus given to the popularisation of the sacred lore. Kirātārjuṇīyam or Arjuna's penance on the Indrakīla hill was a fascinating theme of many a sculpture. On the plinth of the mukhamaṇḍapa of the Vīrabhadra temple at Lēpākṣi is carved the whole theme of Arjuna's penance in detail. It was also painted in colour in the nāṭyamaṇḍapa of the temple.

Images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, especially those of Śāntināṭha, Parśvanātha and Caṅdranātha which were worshipped with the greatest veneration, and images of the Yakṣis or the female attendants of the Tīrthaṅkaras like those of Jvālamālinī, Aṁbikā and Padmāvati which received regular worship help us to understand the position of Jainism among the religions in the empire. The Jaina basadis dedicated to the different Tīrthaṅkaras served the same purpose as the Hindu temple.

The Vijayanagara rulers sanctified their capital by constructing many temples consecrated to the different gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. The Hazāra Rāma, Viṭṭhala, Mālyavanta Raghunātha, Paṭṭābhirāma, Uddāna Vīrabhadra, Kṛṣṇa were the important temples owing their existence to the Vijayanagara kings who stood as champions of Hindu religion and Dharma. Among these temples were situated the Muslim monuments called the Muhammadan watch tower, Muhammadan mosque which speak volumes of the religious catholicity of the rulers. The tomb at Kadi Rāmāpuram erected in honour of the contemporary Muslim saint Nurulla Khādri proves that the Muslim subjects of the rulers were allowed free pursuit of their religion.

Legends which came to be associated with the names of the famous temples found representation in the sculpture: for example, the story of Candrāvati's devotion to Lord Mallikārjuna of Śrīśailam. Scenes from Kāḷahastimāhātyam depicting the elephant, snake and the spider worshipping Śiva and Tinna, a devotee of Śiva, offering his eye formed an interesting aspect of the religious sculptures of the period.

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Śaivism

Śaivism was the most popular religion during the rule of the first dynasty. It enjoyed the patronage of kings and courtiers and had a fairly large following drawn from all classes in society. Almost all the well known schools and cults of Śaivism like the Pāsupata, the Kālamukha, the Vīra Śaiva, the Advaita, Śrīkaṇṭha Śaivāgama, Śaiva Siddhānta find mention in contemporary records.

Pāśupata School

This school of Śaivism was founded by Lakulīśa who was considered an incarnation of Śiva.[1] The specific philosophy of the Pāśupatas was Pañcārthika, and we can have a very good idea of the form it had taken by the 14th Century from the Sarvadarśana Saṅgrah of Mādhava. Kauṇḍinya in his Bhāṣya of the Pāśupata Sūtras explained this Pañcārtha or the five categories propounded by Lakulīśa as (i) Kārya (effect) which is Mahat and the rest produced from Pradhana, (ii) Kāraṇa (cause) which is Iśvara or Mahēśvara, (iii) Yōga (me ation or the uttering of the syllable Om, contemplation, concentration, etc. (iv) Vidhi (religious practices, bathing in ashes at the three points of time-dawn, midday and dusk and lastly (v) Duḥkhānta (dissolution of sorrow).

Kārya is not independent and is of three kinds: (1) Cognition (Vidyā), (2) Organs(Kalā) and (3) Individual Soul (Pasu).

The cause or Kāraṇa is that which effects the destruction of the whole creation and its prosperity and promotion. On account of its properties and functions it has many forms such as Lord (Pati), Sādya etc. (Supreme Sovereignty). The Lord possesses unbounded power of know-

ing and acting. He is, therefore, the Eternal Ruler. This power of Sādya is not incidental but natural.[2]

The third principle, Yōga, connects the individual soul with God through Citta. It is of two kinds; that characterised by action and that by cessation of action. While the former involves chanting of mantras, meditation and so forth, the latter consists of mere feeling (Saṃvid).[3]

The fourth principle, Vidhi, is right conduct which effects or brings about righteousness. It is of two kinds:(1) Primary and (2) Secondary. The Primary is the direct means of merit which includes vows(Vratas), definite practices (Upahāras), uttering of names (Japa) and circumambulation (Pradakṣina), etc. The vows include besmearing the body with ashes and lying on ashes. Lakulīsa says:

"He should bathe thrice a day, he should lie upon the dust (ash). Oblation is an observance divided into six members."

"He should worship with the six kinds of oblations, viz, laughter, song, dance, muttering hum, adoration and pious ejaculation." [4]

At the time of meditation the ascetic should laugh loudly and do Huḍukkāra like the bellowing of a bull. This is followed by song and dance. He sings the glory of Mahēśvara according to the conventions of the Gandharva Śāstra.

Another form of religious exercise is the adoption of postures: (i) Krāthana is affecting to be asleep when one is awake; (ii) Spaṅdana, moving or shaking of the limbs as in convulsions;(iii) Śṛngāraṇa, simulating amorous gestures as if in love at the sight of a beautiful woman; (iv) Maṅdana, walking as if one were disabled; (v) Avitatkaraṇa, acting absurdly without any discrimination of propriety and indecency; (vi) Avitadbhāsaṇa, uttering words which have no sense and context.

The subsidiary religious exercise is a purificatory act, to free oneself from the feeling of unfitness, from begging, living on the remainder of food[5], etc. Kauṇḍinya has given a high place to the practice of begging.[6]

The last principle, Duḥkhānta or final deliverance, is again of two kinds: (i) Impersonal (total destruction of misery) and (ii) personal (a sublimated condition consisting in the possession of the power of knowing and acting). The power of knowing is of five kinds : (1) Darśana, (2) Śravaṇa, (3) Manana, (4) Vijñāna and (5) Sarvajñātva. The power of acting is three fold: (1) Manōjavitva, (2) Kāmarūpitva and (3) Vikramaṇadharmitva.

While in other systems, destruction of misery is the final deliverance, the attainment of supremacy or the highest power is also to be added to

this in this system. In other systems that which comes into existence from non-existence is an effect; here the effect is eternal, such as the Pasu or the individual soul and the great Lord acts independently. In this system the fruit of Yōga or concentration is the attainment of an absolute condition, while in other systems Vidhi or process has for its fruit heaven and other places from which there is a return to mortal life; in this system the fruit is proximity to the Supreme Soul (Sānnidhya) from which there is no return. It is dualistic and in the delivered condition the individual soul shakes off its ignorance and weakness and attains the boundless knowledge and power of action.[7]

Pāsupata Teachers

We read about a Pāsupata teacher in a record dated A.D.1374, which states that Vīra Kaṁpaṇa Voḍeyar's son, Nañjaṇṇa Voḍeyar, granted an agrahara to the great Pāsupata-vratācārya Ākāsavāsi Sankhyādi guru. It is to be regretted that the name of the teacher is not mentioned. However, the epithets Śrī-yama niyamādi aṣṭānga yōga nirata parama mahā Pāsupata vratācāryar indicates a spiritual teacher of a very high order.[8] Three Pāsupata teachers appear in a record dated A.D. 1513 from Peddakodamagunḍla in Guntur District. Mahēsvarācārya or Mahēsvarayati, who founded the temple of Uttarēsvara, provided for the worship of the liṅga in the temple and distribution of food to the devotees. He was the successor of Saṅkaraguru in Pāsupata- Saṁ bhavadīkṣa. Saṅkaraguru attained Śivalōka and became a liṅga by the merit of the penance of his spiritual guru Maṅtramūrtigaru.[9]

Kālamukha School

The Kālamukhas, though they subscribed to the Pāsupata philosophy, differed from the Pāsupatas in their religious practices. For example, they maintain that the highest end of man is accomplished through the six mudras. They are: (1) eating food in a skull; (2) smearing oneself with the ashes of a dead body; (3) eating the flesh of a dead body; (4) holding a club; (5) keeping a liquor jar and (6) worshipping the God as seated therein. The Kālamukhas maintained that people of other castes would become Brahmans by the performance of the rites described earlier.[10]

Similarities

The Kālamukhas and the Pāsupatas have some practices in common. Thus, for example, while a Pāsupata besmeared his body with the sacred ashes, the Kālamukha used the ashes of a dead body. Thus both of them gave importance to the ashes as sacred. Both the Kālamukhas and Pāsupatas wore matted hair on their heads. The Kālamukhas, according to Rāmānuja, carried a heavy stick or a club in their hands. It is well

known that Lakulīsa, the great Pāsupata teacher, is described as the Lord wearing the staff i.e. Khatvānga. Bhandarkar identified the vidhi or rules of conduct of the Kālamukhas with those of the Pāsupatas.[11]

Kālamukha Teachers

The rulers of the first, the Saṅgama dynasty appear to have been great patrons of Kālamukha Saivism. A line of Kālamukha divines, the Kriyāsaktis, figure prominently in the records of these rulers. According to one view these Kriyāsaktis were Pāsupatas.[12] But the probability seems to be that they were Kālamukhas.[13] According to A.P. Karmarkar 'Sakti', 'Siva' and 'Abharaṇa' were personal suffixes assumed mostly by the Kālamukhas.[14] Venkata Subbaiah opines that "while the names ending in 'Siva', 'Rāsi' and 'Abharaṇa' are sometimes borne by Saivas not belonging to the Kālamukha sect, the names ending in Sakti do not seem to be borne by any but the Kālamukhas.[15] According to R.G. Bhandarkar also, though the termination 'Rāsi' was applicable to both the Pāsupatas and Kālamukhas, the suffix 'Sakti' is found mostly only in the names of the Kālamukha teachers.[16] V.S.Pathak states that the names of the Pāsupatas generally end in 'Rāsi', 'Bhaya' and 'Gaṇḍa'.[17] The above discussion suggests that while 'Siva', 'Rāsi' and 'Abharaṇa' and in a few cases 'Gaṇḍa' were borne by both the Kālamukhas and Pāsupatas, the suffix 'Sakti' was adopted only by the Kālamukhas. This suggests that the Kriyāsaktis were Kālamukhas. The entire line of teachers of the Vijayanagara period assumed only the distinctive Kriyāsakti suffix. Inscriptions belonging to 12th century from Ablūr and Baḷegāmi, the strongholds of Kālamukha Saivism, support the above contention. The Kriyāsaktis were held in high veneration by the early Vijayanagara kings as rāja gurus. The Kriyāsaktis are described as "Dakṣiṇa Vāraṇāsi Svayambhū Triyaṁ baka Śrī Pādapadmārādhaka sakala siṣyabhavapāsavibhēdaka nikhilasaivāgamajñānasōdhaka Caturvidhamukti sādhakōṣṭavidhabhaktivēdakā vastukavivistīrṇa kavikarnābharaṇa saṁskruta kavi Kāḷidāsa prākruta kavi Pravarasēna sadbhāṣakavicakravartīvādīndrā vādiprasamakamahābhairava Karṇāṭakakavikaṭakaluṁ tāka vartamānakavipitāmah Ballāṇarāya mastakaśūlō Yādavarāya- pratiṣṭ ācārya- ācāryavaryasatatasmpādita vidvajjana- kāryabhaṅgarāhuttarāyah, etc".[18] The Kriyāsaktis were devoted to God Triyaṁbaka and also worshipped the Aṣṭamūrti or the eight manifestations of Siva which are Sarva, Bhava, Isāna, Rudra, Ugra, Bhīma, Pasupati and Mahādēva.[19] Mādhava Mantri, the disciple of Kāsivilāsa Kriyāsakti, performed a vrata in adoration of the eight Vidyēsvaras and on the completion of it he donated a village named Vidyēsvarapura to some learned Brahmans from Kashmir who were proficient in Aṣṭamūrti cult.[20] The cult of the

Vidyēśvaras appears to have been borrowed by the Śaiva Siddhānta system from the mention of the concept of the Vidyēśvara in their system.

The earliest reference to a Kriyāśakti guru is found in a record dated A.D. 1347--which describes him as a Śaiva guru devoted to the worship of Triyaṁbaka.[21] Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti, mentioned in an epigraph dated A.D. 1368, was the spiritual guru of Madhava, the governor of Banavāsi Twelve-thousand.[22] Dēvēśa Kriyāśakti and his successor Candrabhūṣaṇa Kriyāśakti were prominent teachers of the period. According to an inscription dated A.D. 1371 Candrabhūṣaṇa Kriyāśakti donated a village called Koṇḍūru renamed as Dēvēśapuram in honour of his guru, Dēvēśa Kriyāśakti, to Brahmans on the occasion of the twenty second death anniversary of Dēvēśa Kriyāśakti.[23] That Candrabhūṣaṇa Kriyāśakti was a contemporary of Harihara, and Dēvarāya is known from the signatures of Dēvarāya and Harihara being attested at the end of the inscription cited earlier. It was Candrabhūṣaṇa who arbitrated in the literary disputation between Śrīnātha, the court poet of the Reḍḍi kings, and Gauḍa Diṇḍima Bhaṭṭa I. Kriyāśakti acted as the umpire in the disputation and bestowed the title Kavisārvabhauma on the winner of the contest, Śrīnātha.[24] The period of Candrabhūṣaṇa Kriyāśakti is known further from an inscription from Vogata dated A.D.1377-78. On this date, Kriyāśakti of the Kāśyapa gōtra who was devoted to the feet of Svayambhū Triyaṁbaka granted some land in the yillage of Marudāḍu to the Varadarāja temple at Bhagīrathī. This Kriyāśakti of the Vogata inscription may be identified with the Candrabhūṣaṇa Kriyāśakti of the Koṇḍūru copper-plate.[25]

That Chandrabhūṣaṇa Kriyāśakti was the spiritual guru of the descendants of Bukka is known from Gaṅgā Dēvī's Madhurāvijayam. Gaṅgā Dēvī pays obeisance to her guru Candrabhūṣaṇa Kriyāśakti immediately after the invocation to Śiva and Sarasvatī thus: "Unparalled in wisdom and resplendent with auspiciousness like another Trilōcana (Śiva) with Sarvamaṅgaḷa (Pārvatī) shining (by his side)."[26] Harihara II refers to Kriyāśakti as his Kulaguru, in a record dated A.D.1378, at whose instance Harihara granted 22 villages to the Triyaṁ baka and Vīranārayaṇa temples at Gadag.[27] In the Gadag inscription he is called Vāṇīvilāsa Kriyāśakti.[28] We do not know whether he is identical with the Kriyāśakti guru of the earlier record or not. Imaḍi Bukka, son of Harihara II, was a disciple of Kriyāśakti.[29] Two copper-plate inscriptions dated A.D.1397 and A.D.1398 refer to Kriyāśaktidēva as the rājaguru and a worshipper of God Triyaṁ baka.[30] In another record dated A.D.1404 Kriyāśakti guru figures as the guru of Viṭhapa Voḍeyar, who describes himself as one devoted to the feet of Kriyāśakti and a worshipper of Triyaṁbaka.[31] According to the Daṇḍapalli copper-plates of Vijayarāya, son of

Dēvarāya I, dated A.D.1410, Kriyāśakti Dēśika was the spiritual guru of Vijayarāya. In honour of his guru, Vijayarāya founded a village called Kriyāśaktipura in Hulinadu and presented it to a certain Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita.[32] The last reference to Kriyāśakti is available in a record dated A.D.1443 from Śōmēśvara, South Kanara district, which refers to the rājaguru Kriyāśakti Oḍeya.[33]

This line of teachers appears to have lost favour in the Court subsequent to the time of Dēvarāya II as no record mentioning them is found in the later period.

Vīra Śaivism: Ārādhyas

Another offshoot of Śaivism which had a fairly large following in the Vijayanagara empire was Vīra Śaivism. There were two divisions among the Vīra Śaivas, namely, the Ārādhyas and the Liṅgāyats.[34] The Ārādhya Śaivas worshipped Śiva and wore the Liṅga. They followed Vēdic religion and as such wore the sacred thread also.[35] Being Brahmans they adopted gōtra, pravara and śākha. They were mostly followers of Yajurvēda, For example, Viśvēśvara Śiva, a highly esteemed teacher versed in the Śrauta and Smārta, son of Mādhavārādhya, belonged to Harita gōtra, Āpastaṁbha sūtra and Yajus śākha.[36] Viṭhalārādhya and his son Gōpālārādhya were followers of Yajurvēda.[37] The Ārādhyas were highly learned men and were patronised by the Vijayanagara rulers.[38] The Ārādhyas were quite influential and large in numbers during the early half of the twelfth century. But there was a decline in their influence as well as in numbers due to the activities of Basava and his followers.

Liṅgāyats: The Liṅgāyats were followers of Basava and were very influential in the Vijayanagara empire.[39] They gave importance to Liṅga, Vibhūti, Rudrākṣa, Paṁcākṣari, Jaṅgama, Tīrtha and Prasāda which are called the astāvaraṇa.[40] They worshipped Vīrabhadra, a terrible manifestation of Śiva in conformity with the revolutionary spirit of their creed. The invocatory verses in adoration of Vīrabhadra generally found in the Liṅgāyat inscriptions testify to the popularity and importance of the Vīrabhadra cult.[41] Innumerable references in contemporary epigraphical records from all parts of the empire registering land grants and cash endowments for worship in the temples dedicated to Vīrabhadra attest to the great popularity of the cult. For example, in A.D. 1392 Mailapa built the gōpura of the temple of Vīrabhadra at Penukoṇḍa.[42] In A.D. 1402 Harihara Mahārāya granted certain taxes collected from the villages Pura and Māramaṇahaḷḷi for the decorations and services of the god Vīrabhadra of Pura.[43] Yirigi Seṭṭi, the Mahāprabhu of Nānādēśis, constructed the Vīrabhadra temple at Harābi Kottanūr and granted lands for conducting worship in the temple.[44] In A.D. 1431

Kumāra Timmaya and other prominent men granted lands to God Vīrabhadra of Bukkapaṭṇam for the merit of Dēvarāya.[45] A certain Nāgarāju consecrated the image of Vīrabhadra at Peddanapāḍu.[46] Jaḍeyāru Modaliyār set up the great god of gods, Vīrabhadra, at Haṭṭalakōṭe and provided for worship in the temple by granting lands.[47] Reṇṭūri Ciṭṭamarasu, described as the bearer of the burden of Sāḷuva Timmarasu's administration,made structural additions to the Vīrabhadra temple at Kākāni.[48]

It was customary for the Liṅgāyats to propitiate Vīrabhadra on Tuesdays and offer food to the Jaṅgamas. This ceremony was known as Vīrabhadra Paḷḷemu. Vīrabhadra Paḷḷemu, strictly so called, is a very large plate with an image of Vīrabhadra in which food was heaped very high for offering to the God. This food after naivedya was distributed among the Jaṅgamas as prasāda.[49] The Ārādhya Śaivas also observed the Vīrabhadra Paḷḷemu as evidenced by Paṇḍitārādhya caritra.[50] The fact that this particular ceremony called Vīrabhadra Paḷḷemu found mention even in works essentially devoted to establish the superiority of Vaiṣṇavism indicates the wide prevalence of the cult.[51] Moreover, the innumerable temples dedicated to Vīrabhadra and the sculptures bear ample testimony to the popularity of Vīrabhadra as a cult God of the Vīra Śaivas.[52]

The Liṅgāyats who were drawn from all castes and classes fall into four divisions, namely, Jaṅgamas, Śīlavantās, Baṇajigās or Balañjās and Pañcamasālis.[53]

Jaṅgamas

The object of highest reverence in Vīra Śaiva theology was Jaṅgama. He was identified with Śiva himself and his blessings were sought at all times.[54] It was customary to feed the Jaṅgamas in temples and Maṭhas. For instance, in A.D.1457 Dēmarasavve, a servant of Praudha Dēvarāya, presented some lands to the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrisailam for the feeding of five Jaṅgamas every day in the temple.[55] Sāḷuva Partayyadēva Mahārāja granted buildings, gardens and cows for feeding Brahmans and Jaṅgamayyas.[56] Agrahara villages were also granted to the Jaṅgamas; for example, the Vīra Śaiva chief Sānta Liṅga bestowed agraharas on Jaṅgamas.[57] The Jaṅgamas comprised house holders and celibates who received the necessary training in the Maṭhas of the Vīra Śaivas. The celibate Jaṅgamas fall into two categories, namely, Gurusthalās and Viraktās. The former attended to the domestic rites like the Dīkṣa ceremony and guided the followers of Vīra Śaivism in the capacity of gurus. The Viraktās, as the name signifies, are the passionless Jaṅgamas who led a life of austerity and dedicated themselves for the

propagation of religion.[58] They were highly learned men and were expounders of the Ṣatsthala doctrine. For example, Tontāḍa Siddhēśvara or Siddhaliṅgayati, a contemporary of Virūpākṣa III who had a very large number of disciples, was the author of Ṣatsthala Jñānamṛita. It was a prose work of seven hundred vacanās. A record dated A.D. 1480 from Kunigal where a Maṭha was built in his memory describes the greatness, purity and power of this Virakta.[59] The members of the Yeṇṭu-jeḍe sect were the followers of Siddhaliṅgayati to whom they constructed a Maṭha at Yeḍiyūr. The greatness of the teacher is also known from the biographical accounts of him composed by later Vīra Śaiva writers like Virakta Tontāḍāryaṇa Siddhēśvara Purāṇa and Tontāḍa Siddhēśvara Purāṇa.[60]

Vīra Balañjās

Vīra Balañjās or Vīra Baṇajigās belonged to the trading classes who accepted the Vīra Śaiva Siddha Bhikṣāvṛittis as their gurus.[61]

Śīlavantās

The Śīlavantās were a particular class of Jaṅgamas who devoted their time entirely to worship of Śiva without concerning themselves about wordly matters. Though there is a reference to the Śīlavantās in Paṇḍitārādhyacaritramu, no epigraphical evidence of the popularity of this class of Jaṅgamas is available to us, except a solitary record assigned to 15-16th century indicating a line of teachers of the Śīlavantās.[62]

Pañcamaśālis

The sub-division of Pañcamaśālis is not known from earlier works on Śaivism. The word Pañcamaśāli literally means a weaver of the Pañcama(Harijan) community. Inscriptions during the Vijayanagara period refer frequently to Śāle maggālu(looms of the weavers) and māla maggālu (the looms of the mālas and pancamas). It is not unlikely that the Pañcamaśālis were members of the weaving profession belonging to the māla community who became the followers of Basava.

Vīra Śaiva Philosophy

The philosophy of Vīra Śaivism is known as "Ṣatsthala". It may be popularly described as consisting of six stages[63] leading to the union with Śiva. In Vīra Śaiva philosophy there is only one highest Brahman, whose existence is characterised by Sat, Cit and Ānanda--the essence of Śiva.

The Śiva Tattva is called Sthala.[64] By the agitation of its inner power or Śakti the Sthala gets divided into (i) Liṅgasthala and (ii) Aṅgasthala. Liṅgasthala is Śiva or Rudra and is to be worshipped and adored, while

the Angasthala is equated with the individual soul which is the worshipper or adorer. Similarly, the Sakti is also divided into two units or parts, that one which resorts to Siva is called Kalā and the other which resorts to the individual soul is called Bhakti or Devotion. While Sakti has got a tendency to entangle itself with the world, Bhakti is free from susceptibility and therefore leads to final deliverance. Bhakti consummates in the union of the soul and Siva--a process of bi-unity.

The VīraSaiva or Liṅgāyat School is sometimes considered as a school of qualified spiritual monism (Visiṣṭādvaita) on the ground that the original essence of Siva divided itself by its own ornate power into Liṅga or God, and Aṅga, or the individual soul, and that under the influence of other powers, the essence became the creator of the world, which shows that the doctrine of that school is that the rudiment of the creation exists in God himself in the shape of his power and that this power is not unreal.[65]

The spread of Vīra Saivism and the great popularity it enjoyed among the masses as well as the classes in Vijayanagara empire gave a great fillip to the production of Vīra Saiva literature of a high order. The most important of the Vīra Saiva poets may be mentioned here. Padmanaṅka, an Ārādhya, wrote Padmarāja Purāṇa. Mallana composed Rēvaṇa Siddhēśvara Kavya and Caturmukha Bommarasa produced Rēvaṇa Siddhēsvara Purāna. Another writer named Jakkaṇārya was the author of Nūrondusthala or the Hundred and One Topic. Not only was he a writer but also a patron of a number of Vīra Saiva writers like Kumāra Baṅkanātha and Mahāliṅgadēva. Nijaguṇa Yōgi who belonged to the early half of sixteenth century was the author of Purātanaratripadi describing the stories of the 63 Purātanas or ancients. The same subject was treated by Suraṅga Kavi, a contemporary of Nijaguṇa Yōgi in his Triṣaṣti Purātanara Caritre in Caṁpu form. Virūparāja who belonged to the same period composed Tribhuvanatilaka dealing with the story of King Ceramaṅka. The Ṣatsthala doctrine has received the widest attention from Vīra Saiva writers. Among those mention may be made of Prabhudēva, author of Ṣatsthalajñānacaṛitra Vacanaṭīkā and Ekōtharasthala. Mayidēva, the son of Saṅgamēśvara who was the disciple of Nāgarāja, was a well known Vīra Saiva teacher. Mayidēva who attained fame as a Ṣatsthala Brahmavādi composed Anubhava Sūtra and Ṣatsthala Gadya. Tontāḍa Siddhēśvara who was a Ṣatsthala doctrinaire composed Ṣatsthala Jñānamṛita.

Vēdānta--The Advaita School

The Brahmasūtra attributed to Bādarāyaṇa was an attempt at a systematisation of the different strands of the Upaniṣadic thought contained

in the various early Upaniṣads, which form the background of most of the non- heretical systems of Indian philosophy. The Brahmasūtra had been interpreted in various ways by the exponents of different schools of thought, like Saṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Vallabha, Śrīkaṇṭha and others. These interpretations go by the name of Vēdānta. Saṅkara established spiritual absolutism or non-dualism as the main teaching of the Upaniṣads. He systematically developed the monistic tendency of the Upaniṣads emphasising the reality of the unconditioned and unqualified (Nirguṇa) Brahman. He regards God (Īsvara), the individual souls (Jīva) and the world (Jagat) as mere appearances due to an indefinable principle called Māyā, which is neither real nor unreal, nor both, nor either.[66] God is Brahman associated with Māyā in its superior aspect while Jīva is Brahman associated with Māyā in its inferior aspect. Brahman is one, eternal, pure, transcendental consciousness and is beyond the duality of subject and object, the causal changes. It is devoid of distinction. The world is an appearance (Prapañca) of Brahman and is, therefore, non- different from Brahman. Ignorance is bondage and true knowledge is liberation. Bondage is due to Avidya which generates a sense of individuality and knowledge of difference and multiplicity. Liberation is pure intuition of knowledge of identity. This is indicated by the famousUpanisadic sentence - "Thou art that" and "I am Brahman".[67] Saṅkara stressed the need for renunciation of wordly life and luxuries and dedication of life to the pursuit of knowledge of Brahman.[68]

Saṅkara taught that the pursuit of Jñāna is the realisation of the identity of the self with the Brahman. In other words, in order to displace Avidya by Vidya, Saṅkara recommended the study of Vēdānta as the best means of achieving the practice of self-denial. He also declared that devotion to God and the observance of Varṇāsrama Dharma as ordained by the scriptures are preliminaries for the acquisition of the needed moral competency for the study of the Vēdānta. Man should carefully discharge his secular as well as religious duties without desiring any fruit in this or the next world.

This comprehensive outlook of Saṅkara's philosophy enabled its followers to spread the gospel of mutual toleration and harmony. The recognition of Brahman as the Supreme Spirit, the First cause as distinct from Śiva or Viṣṇu, enabled the followers of different creeds to worship each its own deity.[69]

Saṅkara's concept of Brahman had a widespread and far-reaching importance. It led to Pañca Dēvōpāsana or the worship of the five deities. The worship of Śiva with Sun, Śakti (Mother Goddess), Gaṇēsa and Viṣṇu was advocated by Saṅkara as the vital breath of his Vēdānta. The

Smṛti Muktāphala prescribes the daily worship of these Five Deities for a householder.[70] The Āgamanta Śaivas as well as Vaiṣṇavas popularised the Smārta cult of the Pañcadēvōpāsana.

Śiva as the supreme Godhead was worshipped with Vēdic Mantras according to the Sadyōjāta form. Placing the Śālagrāma in the centre, with Sun, Gaṇapati, Aṁbika, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara as the presiding deities, worship was performed according to the sanctions of Puruṣa Sūkta and other Āgamic contents.[71] Inscriptions as well as contemporary literary works contain invocatory verses in praise of Gaṇēśa, Śiva, Viṣṇu,etc.

Thus the Bhāgavata Saṁpradāyam of the Smārtas, which inclines to Viṣṇu worship,was common not only to the followers of Vaiṣṇavism but also the Smārtas. Thus among the Smārtas were found followers of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Dr. S.Radhakrishnan has rightly described Śaṅkara as essentially a democrat preaching reconciliation and harmony.[72]

TEACHERS OF ADVAITA

Vidyātīrtha or Vidyāśaṅkara

This period produced eminent teachers of Advaita Vēdānta who carried the message of Śaṅkara to the people. Vidyātīrtha was a prominent teacher of Advaita Vēdānta who was held in great reverence by the Saṅgama rulers. He was both the temporal and spiritual guide of Bukka I who succeeded in consolidating his kingdom with Vidyātīrtha's blessings.[73] The Inām Office copper-plate grant of Harihara II,[74] which describes Bukka as the worshipper at the lotus feet of Vidyātīrthēśa, led even some writers to conclude that it was Vidyātīrtha who laid the foundations of the Vijayanagara Kingdom.[75]

The Guruvaṁśa Mahākāvya,[76] and Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta[77] describe how Vidyāraṇya and his younger brother Bhāratī Kṛṣṇatīrtha, sons of a poor learned Brahman in Warangal,were initiated into Sanyasasrama by Vidyāśaṅkara.[78]

Vidyāraṇya paid homage to Vidyātīrtha at the beginning of his works.[79] Though the inscriptions refer to him as Vidyātīrtha, the literary evidence seems to suggest that Vidyātīrtha and Vidyāśaṅkara are identical. This finds tacit support in the Śṛṅgagiri Guruparaṁpara which mentions Vidyāśaṅkaratīrtha as the name of the ninth successor of Śaṅkarācārya.[80] According to Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta, the immediate disciple of Vidyāśaṅkara was Bhāratī Kṛṣṇatīrtha.[81] It was Bhāratītīrtha who consecrated the temple of Vidyāśaṅkara in honour of his guru

Vidyātīrtha some time after A.D.1356. According to the Vṛttānta, Vidyāsaṅkara sat in lāmbika (yōga) for performing tapas and was soon transformed into a liṅga, to enshrine which the architect Jakkaṇācārya built a temple in A.D. 1340-41.[82] It is true that the Vidyāsaṅkara temple was built in memory of Vidyātīrtha, but the date furnished by the Vṛttānta is not correct. According to an inscription from Śṛṅgēri dated A.D.1356 Bhāratītīrtha Śrīpāda, the disciple of Vidyātīrtha, bestowed some lands upon Brahmans on the occasion of the consecration of the God Vidyāsaṅkara.[83] A stone inscription of Bukka states that on the occasion of his visit to Śṛṅgēri Maṭha in A.D.1356, Bukka made a grant to Vidyātīrtha Śrīpāda.[84] This shows that Vidyātīrtha lived upto A.D.1356 and attained Mukti after A.D.1356. Inscriptions refer to the existence of the Vidyāsaṅkara temple after A.D. 1356.[85]

Inscriptions speak of his greatness in unmistakable terms.[86] According to a record dated A.D.1386 "none of the four kinds of speech, parā, pasyantī, madhyamā and vaikarī, is capable of adequately describing the greatness of Vidyātīrtha.[87] Bhāratītīrtha, the disciple of Vidyātīrtha, compared to a lotus is described as having sprung from Vidyātīrtha, possessing the fragrance of joy from a knowledge of non-dualism and expanding by the rays of the sun Vidyāraṇya.[88]

Vidyāraṇya

Vidyāraṇya, the chief architect of the Vijayanagara empire, was a great teacher of Advaita. He made notable contributions through his Pañcadasi and Jīvanmuktivivēka for the exposition of the philosophy of Advaita. The Pañcadasi of Vidyāraṇya elaborates the Vivaraṇa view of the Vēdānta started by Padmapāda and Prakāsātman. Pañcadasi contains fifteen chapters and the first five chapters are usually known as the Vivēkaprakaraṇa and are conceived mainly with the Sat aspect of Brahman. The primordial substance called Prakṛiti is composed of sattva, rajas and tamas. Though it is a reflection of Brahman, it is not a reality as the Sāṅkhyas believe. This is explained in the first three chapters of Pañcadasi. The fourth chapter deals with the differentiation of duality. Iśvara, by mere thought, created all the objects of the world through His innate power, Māyā. The Jīva through delusion identifies himself with the outer world and becomes subject to grief. This is the duality created by Iśvara. He defines Jīva as the pure consciousness upon which the subtle body is superimposed together with the subtle body itself and the reflection of consciousness in the subtle body.[89]

Although the Pañcadasi is primarily a dialectical work, Vidyāraṇya shows his respect for Śruti by devoting a chapter to the four great sentences (mahāvākyas). According to Śruti, "The four faced Brahma, Indra,

the gods, human beings and animals are pervaded by one consciousness called Brahman. That consciousness is Brahman and I am that Brahman who is infinite and unconditioned in nature. In the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, there is the text, "Aham Brahmāsmi", (1-4-10); the word asmi denotes identity of 'aham' (I) and Brahman. The meaning of the text is therefore "I am Brahman".[90]

Cit or pure consciousness is termed as the Kūṭastha which literally means what exists on the Kūṭa or summit. The summit here represents cit or consciousness standing above Jīva who enjoys the pains and pleasures of the world. It is therefore a pure witness (sākṣin). According to the Kūṭasthadīpa, it is the pure witness of the gross and subtle bodies of Jīva. The knowledge of the nature of the Kūṭastha leads to the cessation of pleasure and pain.[91]

Vidyāraṇya recommends meditation or dhyāna on the attributeless Brahman. A yōgi devoted to meditation on the Nirguṇa Brahman obtains entry into Brahmalōka.[92] Following Saṅkara, Vidyāraṇya maintains that final liberation cannot be attained without Jñāna and that Jñāna can be obtained even during the embodied state. This is known as Jīvanmukti which is elaborated in his other work,the Jīvanmuktivivēka.[93] The Advaita teachers of the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha and the Kāmakōṭi Maṭha at Kañcī were great celibates well versed in Sanskrit and the vernaculars.[94] According to the Guruvaṁsamahākāvya[95] the following teachers presided over the Śṛṅgēri or Śrī Maṭha at Śṛṅgēri:

Vidyāraṇya
|
Bhāratīkṛṣṇa Tīrtha
|
Candraśēkhara Bhāratī
|
Narasiṁha Bhāratī
|
Puruṣōttama Bhāratī
|
Saṅkara Bhāratī
|
Narasiṁha Bhāratī — Candraśēkhara Bhāratī[96]
|
Rāmacaṅdra Bhāratī
|
Narasiṁha Bhāratī
|
Dviguṇa Narasiṁha Bhāratī
|
Abhinava Narasiṁha Bhāratī

The epigraphical evidence points to the following line of the teachers of Śṛṅgēri:

Vidyātīrtha	A.D. 1356[97]
Vidyāraṇya	A.D. 1378[98]
Bhāratītīrtha	A.D. 1386[99]
Narasiṁha Bhāratī	A.D. 1406[100]
Rāmacaṅdra Bhāratī	A.D. 1407[101]
Candraśēkhara Bhāratī	A.D. 1416[102]
Puruṣōttama Bhāratī	A.D. 1418[103]
Puruṣōttama Bhāratī	A.D. 1451[104]
Rāmacandra Bhāratī	A.D. 1517[105]
Narasiṁha Bhāratī	A.D. 1647[106]

This list is fairly in accordance with the MATHA LIST which is as follows:[107]

	Consecrated	Died
Vidyāśaṅkara	1228	1333
Bhāratī Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha	1328	1380
Vidyāraṇya	1331	1386
Candraśēkhara Bhāratī	1368	1389
Narasiṁha Bhāratī	1387	1408
Puruṣōttama Bhāratī	1406	1448
Śaṅkarānanda	1428	1454
Candraśēkhara Bhāratī	1449	1464
Narasiṁha Bhāratī	1464	1479
Puruṣōttama Bhāratī	1472	1517
Rāmacandra Bhāratī	1508	1560
Narasiṁha Bhāratī	1557	1573
Narasiṁha Bhāratī	1563	1576

Vidyāraṇya is said to have secured for the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha a number of Birudās from the early Vijayanagara rulers.[108]

1. An umbrella named Mahīcakra.
2. Śaṅkha, big conch shell.
3. Cakra, a discus
4. Two camaras, chowrie fans.
5. Kartari, a staff with its top shaped like scissors.
6. A pair of Sūryapanas.
7. A pair of white umbrellas.
8. A duṅdubhi, a drum.
9. A jayaghaṇṭa, victory bell.
10. Two drums called the Sun and the Moon.
11. A drum named Cakra
12. A damaruga, a small drum.
13. A pair of Mēghāmbara, two pieces of blue coloured cloth.
14. Two white conch shells.
15. A pair of day-torches.
16. Makara Tōraṇa, an arch shaped like Makara, a sea monster signifying the honour due to the preceptor of an emperor.
17. Jagajjaṁpi, a big umbrella.
18. A pair of Mēghaḍambaras, two umbrellas so called.
19. Patāka, a flag.
20. Āndōḷika, a palanquin.
21. Siṁhāsana.
22. Pāduka, two wooden slippers in-laid with gems.

The pontiffs of the Maṭha bore titles like Parama Haṁsa Parivrājakācāryavarya Padavākya Pramāṇa Pārāvāra Pārīna devoted to Yama, Niyama, and others; the eight divisions of Yōga; establisher of pure Vaidik-Advaita Siddhānta.

The Śṛṅgēri Maṭha maintained close relations with the Royal House and received its support. Bhāratī Tīrtha, his disciples and forty Brahmans residing in Śṛṅgēri were granted nine villages in the Sāntaḷiginād for the performance of rites and services in A.D. 1346.[109]

The Ācāryas of the Kāmakōṭi Pīṭha at Kañcī helped the propagation of the tenets of Advaita and commanded the respect of the Vijayanagara rulers.[110] In A.D. 1507 Vīra Narasiṁha granted the villages Elichehūr and Veṇpākkan to Mahādēva Sarasvatī, disciple of Sadāsiva Sarasvatī. Mahādēva Sarasvatī was described as a Paramahaṁsa- Parivrājakācārya, one who, seeking liberation, is unaffected by the effects of cold and heat; proficient in all the Sāstras; who has attained the eight Yōga sādhanas, who is full of grace and is of bright intellect; and resembles Siva himself.[111] Vīra Narasiṁha granted another village called Kuḍiyāntaṇḍalam to the same Svāmi in the same year.[112] In A.D. 1522 King Kṛṣṇadēvarāya gave the villages of Poḍavūr renamed Kṛṣṇarāyapuram and Kāṭṭupattu to Candracūḍa Sarasvatī, the disciple of Mahādēva Sarasvatī.[113] He was styled Sivacētas (having his mind devoted to Siva), Yatirāja (prince among ascetics) and Dhīmat (philosopher). He was an accredited expounder of the Sāstras and a great exponent of the doctrine of Māyā. In A.D. 1528, six years after his first grant, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya granted the village of Udayaṁbākam to Sadāsiva Sarasvatī, the disciple of Candracūḍa Sarasvatī, alias Candrasēkhara Sarasvatī.[114] The copper-plate inscriptions furnish the following line of Ācāryas:

Sadāsiva Sarasvatī (A.D. 1507)
Mahādēva Sarasvatī
Candracuḍa Sarasvatī alias
Candrasēkhara Sarasvatī (A.D. 1522)
Sadāsiva Sarasvatī (A.D. 1528)

ŚRĪKAṆṬHA ŚAIVĀGAMA SCHOOL

Appayya Dīkṣita

Another school of Saivism, theistic in outlook, which became popular in South India and particularly in Vijayanagara, was Sivādvaita or Saivāgama School. According to it, Siva identified with Brahman is the highest Deity. To this School of Sivādvaita of Śrīkaṇṭha belonged the family of the Appayya Dīkṣita who made an abiding contribution to religion and literature by their zeal for religion and literary creations. They were closely associated with the Vijayanagara rulers of the Tuḷuva and Āravīḍu dynasties and were patronised by them and their feudatories. Narasiṁhayāji or Āccan Dīkṣita was the progenitor of the Appayya Dīkṣita's family hailing from Aḍaiyapalam. According to tradition when Kṛṣṇadēvarāya visited the Varadarāja temple at Kañcī with his queen, Āccan Dīkṣita, who happened to be present on the occasion, recited an interesting verse extolling the beauty of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's

queen by comparing her with Lakṣmī who adored the chest of Lord Viṣṇu.[115] Consequently he acquired the name of Vakṣasthalācārya Dīkṣita. Raṅgarājadhvari, son of Āccan Dīkṣita and father of the great Appayya Dīkṣita, was the celebrated commentator of Prakāśātman's Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa,known as Vivaraṇadarpaṇa. He enjoyed the title Advaita Vidyācārya.[116] His son Appayya Dīkṣita, the towering figure of the age,was born in A.D. 1520 at Aḍaiyapalam.[117] At an early age Appaya Dīkṣita acquired mastery over the six systems of philosophy, grammar, logic, etc, and received the appreciation of well known scholars of the day including those from the Northern India. Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣita, the great grammarian and author of Prauḍhamanōrama and Siddhānta Kaumudi,accepted Appaya Dīkṣita as his guru. He was introduced to King Veṅkaṭa II, who desired Bhaṭṭōji to write Tattva Kaustubha. Bhaṭṭōji bows to his guru Appayya Dīkṣita in his Tantra Dīpika.[118]

Appaya Dīkṣita's profound scholarship attracted the attention of Cinna Timma Nāyaka of Vellore, the Viceroy of the Vijayanagara ruler Sadāsivarāya. Cinna Timma,entitled Tiruvaḍirājyasthāpanācārya,was in power from A.D. 1542 to A.D.1550.[119] At the instance of Cinna Timma, Appayya Dīkṣita wrote a commentary on the Yādavābhyudaya of Vēdānta Dēsika. This commentary must have been written about A.D. 1550, since it describes the victories gained by Cinna Timma in the South.[120] Appayya Dīkṣita's next patron was Cinna Bomma Nāyaka of Vellore who figures in the epigraphical records from A.D. 1549 to A.D.1582.[121] Cinna Bomma performed a Kanakābhiṣēka to Appayya Dīkṣita as a mark of his respect and admiration for his ācārya. It is said that Cinna Bomma personally bathed the Dīkṣita in gold.[122] According to a verse in Nalacaritra Nāṭaka of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, the Kanakābhiṣēka was performed on the completion of the composition of Śivārkamaṇidīpika by Appayya Dīkṣita. Appayya Dīkṣita speaks of his benevolent patron in his Aḍiyapalem grant dated A.D. 1582 in terms[123] of the past.

Appayya Dīkṣita's last patron was Veṅkaṭapatirāya of Penukoṇḍa who ascended the Vijayanagara throne in A.D. 1585. Appayya Dīkṣita wrote Kuvalayānanda by the command of Veṅkaṭapati who was full of spontaneous generosity.[124]

After the death of Cinna Bomma Nāyaka, Appayya Dīkṣita built the Kalākaṇṭhēśvara temple at Aḍiyapalem, his native place in A.D.1582. The inscription states that Appayya Dīkṣita who was the son of the great guru Raṅgarājamakhi helped to enhance the glory of Cinna Bomma Nāyaka of Vellore. He was responsible for revitalising the philosophical system of Śrīkaṇṭha which was obscured by the growing popularity of

other religions. Appayya Dīkṣita composed a commentary on Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya known as Śivārkamaṇidīpika and taught it to five hundred of his disciples. He maintained his disciples with the help of patronage given by Cinna Bomma. He composed one hundred memorable works including Nyāyaraksāmaṇi and Parimaḷa. Father Heras misunderstood this inscription as belonging to Cinna Bomma Nāyaka whom he considers as living in the beginning of Veṅkaṭa's reign, that is, after A.D. 1585, the year of his accession to the throne.[125] Aḍiyapalam grant speaks of Cinna Bomma in terms of past. So he must have died between A.D. 1578, the last known date for Cinna Bomma, and A.D.1582, the date of the Aḍiyapalem grant.[126] Lastly, the temple mentioned is not the Vellore temple but the Kālakaṇṭhēsvara temple at Aḍiyapalem.

Appayya Dīkṣita appears to have lived in the court of Śevappa Nāyaka of Tanjore who ruled from A.D. 1532 to A.D.1580. According to the Arvilimaṅgaḷam plates of Śevappa Nāyaka dated A.D.1577-8, Appayya Dīkṣita is referred to as a contemporary of Tātācārya and the Madhva teacher Vijayīndra.[127] Appayya Dīkṣita had to meet the challenge and opposition of the religious leaders and intellectuals of the day. The Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher Tātācārya, known as Pañcamatabhañjanam Tātācārya, the guru of the Vijayanagara ruler Sadāśivarāya and his minister Rāmarāja Mahācārya alias Doḍḍayācārya, and Appayya Dīkṣita were referred to as contemporaries in the Śrīvaiṣṇava work Prapannāmṛitam. The Vaiṣṇava work describes Appayya Dīkṣita as proficient in Śaiva Śāstra and as the author of the work Advaita Dīpika.[128] It is said that Appayya Dīkṣita established his fame at Citrakūṭa or Cidaṁbaram after defeating his opponents. It is possible that in order to counteract the influence of Appayya Dīkṣita at Cidaṁbaram that Mahācārya, the Śrīvaiṣṇava leader requested Rāmarāja and his guru Tātācārya to reinstate Gōviṁdarāja at Cidaṁbaram and revive worship in the Gōviṁdarāja temple which ceased from the time of the Cōḷa King Kuḷōttuṅga II. The Prapannāmṛitam states that Rāmarāja and Tātācārya fulfilled the desire of Mahācārya after the defeat of the Śaivas of Cidaṁbaram in a religious combat. This shows that the Śaivas under the leadership of Appayya Dīkṣita acquired complete hold of Cidaṁbaram and gave trouble to the Vaiṣṇavas there. The fact that even the Vaiṣṇava work Prapannāmṛitam speaks of Appayya Dīkṣita in reverential terms shows the mettle of this teacher. Ratnakhēṭa Dīkṣita, a protege of Sūrappa Nāyaka of Gingi who ruled from A.D. 1553 to A.D. 1575 approximately, made a futile attempt to defeat Appayya in a philosophical contest and finally pacified the Dīkṣita by giving his daughter Maṅgaḷanāyakī in marriage to him.[129]

As an Advaita philosopher he composed works which gave a new lease

of life to the Śivādvaita of Śrīkaṇṭha. The Śikhariṇimāla consists of sixty verses in praise of Śiva. The Śivatatva Vivēka established that Śiva is the only God of the Universe. The Parimaḷa, a commentary on the Rāmāyanatātparya Saṅgraha, and Mahābhāratatātparya Saṅgraha establish that even the great epics support Śiva as the Lord of the Universe. Appayya Dīkṣita, though he was essentially an Advaitin, did not abuse other religions. He made no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu. His religious eclecticism is known from the composition of works other than Śaiva. Varadarājaṣṭava was composed in praise of Lord Varadarāja of Kañcī. Śrīkṛṣṇa Dhyānapaddhati similarly was in praise of Viṣṇu. There are fine verses in praise of Viṣṇu in the beginning of Parimaḷa, Nyāyarakṣāmaṇi and Kuvalayānaṅda. It is believed that Appayya Dīkṣita composed hundred verses in praise of Naṭarāja and Gōviṅdarāja at Cidaṁbaram.[130]

Philosophy of Śaivism as Expoundedby Appayya Dīkṣita

Appayya Dīkṣita was a follower of Śrīkaṇṭha as stated earlier. He established that Śiva is the nature of pure egohood described as pure being (sat), pure consciousness (cit) and pure bliss(ānanda).[131] Śrīkaṇṭha comes nearest to Rāmānuja in his conception of Brahman as a totality of auspicious and benevolent qualities. Appayya Dīkṣita postulated the theory that Lord Śiva was the Absolute Transcendental Reality capable of bestowing salvation. At the commencement of the Śivārkamaṇidīpika, he says, "Although the Upaniṣads and the Āgamas together with all the Purāṇas, Smritis and Itihāsas like the Mahābhārata are centred in Advaita alone, although the Brahma Sūtras also convey to mature thinkers the same idea, although Advaitism was the religion embraced by the great teachers of old like Saṅkara, still an inclination for the Advaita is produced by the Grace of Lord Śiva and by that alone." The following verse is generally found at the commencement of Dīkṣita's works in adoration of Śiva.

Yasyāhurāgamavidaḥ: Paripūrṇaśaktēh
Aṁśe Kiyatyapi niviṣṭamamum Prapañcam
Tasmai Tamālarucibhāsurakandharāya
nārāyayaṇīsahacarāya namaḥ Śivāya.

Lord Śiva, the supreme and transcendent Deity, is the material cause of the Universe just as milk is the material cause of curd. But the material universe is not a direct and original transformation of Brahman as such, but it is a manifestation of Brahman. Hence the material

universe is not to be considered either as an Illusion or as an attribute of God.

Brahma-jigñāsa or enquiry into the nature of Brahman should be preceded by a proper study of the Vēdas and full comprehension of the nature of Dharma.[132] The Vēdic duties are to be performed without desiring any fruit. However, by virtue of the performance of sacrificial rites, one is not entitled to enquire about the nature of Brahman. The acquisition of the necessary qualification and competency depends much on the good deeds in past lives by virtue of which a man has already purified his mind and is fairly in a position in this life for further purification of the mind.

It may be asked why the Supreme Lord created the world which is a combination of sorrow and happiness. This involves a partial outlook on Brahman. Śrīkaṇṭha in order to justify the purpose of God argued that God grants pain and pleasure to individual souls in accordance with their deeds and their results (Karma and Karma-phala). The transmigration of the souls is the result of beginningless Karma. So God allots suitable bodies to souls for the enjoyment and suffering of actions in proportion to the Karmas of the souls reaped in their past lives. However, the law of Karma does not act independently, but acts according to the fruits of Karma. God is All-merciful and extends His grace uniformly to all persons. He extends His mercy or anugraha in accordance with the deeds of persons and therefore He cannot be regarded as partial.[133] Appayya Dīkṣita says that persons perform good or bad actions according to their antaḥkaraṇa or the qualities of the mind acquired in their past lives. "In this way God is ultimately responsible on the one hand for our actions, and on the other for the enjoyment and suffering in accordance with our Karmas without any prejudice to our moral responsibility as expressed in our original free inclination or as determined later by our own deeds".

The liberated soul does not become one with Brahman but only enjoys all blissful experiences and powers except the power of creation which is the monopoly of the Supreme Lord. In the state of liberation, the soul is beyond the control of the law of Karma.[134]

Āgamic Śaivism or Siddhānta Śaivism

Another important school of Śaivism which flourished during the period under review was Āgamic Śaivism or Siddhānta Śaivism. The Āgamic Śaivas are essentially different from the Vēdāntic Śaivas. The Āgamic Śaivas gave more importance to the Āgamas than the Vēdas. They believed that the twenty-eight Śaivāgamas, the primary sources of

their school, were the personal dictations of Lord Siva. Tirumala says, "The Agama, as much as the Veda, is truly the work of God; the one (Veda) is general and the other (Agama)special; though some consider these words of the Lord, the two antas, to be different, for the great, no difference exists."[135] Unlike the Vedantins, the Agamantins did not exlude women, Sudras and Pratilomas from participating in religious rites.[136] The followers of Saiva Siddhanta stressed the importance of bhakti or devotion to Siva in preference to rituals and ceremonies. God is designated by the Siddhantins as Rudra, Sankara, Mahadeva, Isvara Hara and Siva. He is Hara in the sense of removing the bonds of the soul. He is called Siva because He is the supreme bliss. He is superior to Brahma and Visnu in the sense that in pralaya, Rudra alone stands unaffected, while even Brahma and Visnu are affected in a way. The function of Rudra is continuous and lasts through Srsti, Sthiti and Samhara, whereas Brahma and Visnu have no function to perform during pralaya. The Siddhantin does not accept the doctrine of incarnation. Arulnandi Sivacarya argued that, while the other Gods are subject to birth and death, suffering and enjoyment, Siva, the consort of Uma, is free from Karman. As such Siva has no incarnation since incarnation is the result of Karman[137]. The Siddhantins conceived Siva as Astamurta or Siva in eight forms which brings out the aspect of God's immanence. Manikavacakar sings: Earth, water, air, fire,sky, the sun and the moon, the sentient man--in these eight forms He pervades.[138]

The saints who propagated Saivism in the Tamil country were the sixty-three Nayanars, who went about the country visiting temples, composing hymns extempore in praise of Siva, thereby inculcating a spirit of bhakti to Siva among the people. Of these, Appar, Tirujnanasambhandhar, Sundaramurti and Manikavacakar are honoured as the great teachers of Saiva religion (Samayacaryas). The hymns sung by the first three constitute the Devaram. However, these saints did not give any systematic exposition of the Saiva doctrines. This task was left to their successors, the Santanacaryas.

Nambi Andar Nambi of the eleventh century was perhaps the first to systematise the canonical literature of Tamil Saivism. He compiled the Siddhanta literature called Tirumurai. It is stated that Nambi arranged the canon in the form of ten books; the first three comprising 384 padigams of Tirujnana sambandar, 307 padigams of Tirunavukkarasu, 100 padigams of Sundara forming the seventh book, the Tiruvacakam of Manikkavacakar being the eighth and a number of Tiruvisaippas by nine different authors and the Tirumandiram of Tirumular forming the last two books. The Pasuram supposed to have been uttered by Siva Himself and calculated to procure Siddhi was arranged by Nambi as the 11th

book. The Periyapurāṇam (Siruttoṇḍarpurāṇam) is considered by modern Saivites as thetwelfth book. It was composed by Sekkirar.

Another attempt was made by Mēykaṇḍar in his Śiva-jñāna bōdham in the first half of the thirteenth century to present the tenets of Tamil Saivism in a systematic order. His work is a short treatise of a dozen sūtras based on Rauravāgama to which vārttikas were added to illustrate the argument and fix their meanings. The scheme of the twelve sūtras is simple. The first three assert the existence of the three entities, God (Pati), bondage (pāsa), and soul (Pasu). The next three explain their nature and interrelation, while the next three deal with the means (sādhana)of release and the last part is devoted to the nature and content of release.

The next after the Śiva jñāna-bōdham, in importance, is the Śiva-jñānan siddhiyar of Aruḷnandi Śivācārya. This, though written in verse, explains the true doctrine by a critical discussion of rival systems. This is considered to be a classic treatise on Tamil Saivism, explaining the position of Saivism vis-a-vis other systems. The history of Saiva siddhānta-Śāstras in Tamil cannot be complete without a reference to Umāpati Śivācārya, who lived in the last quarter of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth centuries. His books (1) Śivappirakāsam, (2) Tiruvaruḷpayan, (3) Vinā vēṇba, (4) Porrippahordai, (5) Kodi kkavai, (6) Neñjuvidutūtu, (7) Uṇmai- nēri viḷakkam and (8) Saṅkal-panirākaraṇam are treated with more devotion and care by the Saivites in the Tamil country.[139] Apart from its dialectics and philosophy these songs of the Suddhas are intensely theistic and, some times, anti-Brāhmanical in tone.

The next great name in the history of Saiva Siddhānta was Nīlakaṇṭha who lived in the fourteenth century. He tried to establish the equal authority of the Vēdas and Āgamas. He wrote a commentary on the Brahmasūtras in the light of Siddhānta philosophy.[140]

REFERENCES

1. Different dates have been given to Lakulīsa and the rise of the Pāsupata school. D.R.Bhandarkar suggested that Lakulīsa belonged to the second quarter of the first century A.D.(Ep.Ind. Vol.XXI.p.7) The rise of the Pāsupata school on the other hand is ascribed to the second century B.C. by R.G.Bhandarkar (Collected Works, Vol.IV, p.166). V.S.Pathak maintains that Pāsupata school was founded by Śrīkaṇṭha from which several branches sprung forth.(Saiva Cults in Northern India, p.8)

2. S.D.S. P.106.

3. Ibid., p.107.

4. S.D.S. p.108.

5. S.D.S. p.109.

6. S.Dasgupta, A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol.V,p.139.

7. S.D.S. p.109.

8. E.C. 111, Ng.108. The Pāsupata philosophy laid great emphasis on the Yamas and Niyamas as desiderata for the Pāsupata ascetic. Das Gupta, A. History of Indian Philosophy, Vol.V, p.134.

9. MER.1913, No.143.

10. Vēdānta Sūtra with Rāmānuja's commentary, 11.2.35.

11. R.G.Bhandarkar,CollectedWorks, Vol. IV. p.181.

12. T.V.Mahalingam, Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagara, p.307.

13. Inscriptions of an earlier date from Ablūr furnish the following line of Kālamukha teachers of the Saktipaṛṣe sect which help us in identifying the religious affiliation of the Kriyāsakti teachers.

Kēdārasakti

Śrīkaṇṭha

Sōmēśvara

Vidyābharaṇa

Vamaśakti

Gautama

Vāmaśakti

Śrīkaṇṭhadēva

Vamaśakti (Ep. Ind. Vol.V. p.222-26)

Here the termination "rāsi" is conspicuous by its absence, and Śakti is repeated more than once. This indicates that Śakti was a distinctive personal suffix assumed by Kālamukha ascetics. A Kālamukha inscription from Baḷegāmi dated A.D. 1112 says,"Among the Kālamukhas descended in the line of security for three boons, obtaining fame among those great Śaktis, the rainy season to the Chātaka birds, his disciples, was the pure Śrīkaṇṭha, son of Kēdārasakti." Lewis Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p.85.

14. Religions of India, p.244.

15. Q.J.M.S.,Vol. VII, p.178.

16. CollectedWorks, Vol.IV, p.171, fn.3.

17. SaivaCults in Northern India, p.19.

18. Mac. Mss. 15-3-56, pp.44-55.

19. J.M.Nallasvami Pillai, Studies, in Saiva Siddhānta, pp.229-30; Dr.N.Venkata Ramanayya, Rudra- Siva, p.32.

20. E.C. Vii, pt. 1, Sk. 281. The eight Vidyēsvaras are Ananta, Sūkṣma, Sivōttama, Ekanētra, Ekarudra, Trimūrtika, Srīkaṇṭha, and Sikhaṇḍin, S.D.S. p.121.

21. E.C. VIII, Sb. 375.

22. E.C. VII, SK. 281.

23. Mac. Mss. 15-3-56, pp.44-55.

24. Dr.N.Venkataramanayya, Vyāsa Mañjari, 1967, pp.43-44.

25. Ibid., p.54.

26. Canto 1, V.4.

27. E.C. V. Cn. 256.

28. MER. 1925, papra 30.

29. E.C. X. Mb.11.

30. My. Arch. Rep. 1912, para 99. Harihara's grandson Hariyaṇṇuḍaya appears to be a follower of Kriyāsaktiguru. An undated inscription from Abbavaram in the Rayachoti taluk of the Cuddapah district states that Hariyaṇṇuḍaya made a gift of the village Abbavaram for the worship of the god Triyaṁbakadēva who was the favourite deity of the Kriyāsakti gurus. MER, 1965, No.3.

31. E.C. Vol.VIII, Th.133.

32. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV, pp.68-83.

33. MER, 1928-29, No.467.

34 The word Liṅgāyat applied to the followers of Basava is however not found in Basava Purāṇa and other works of Palkuriki Sōmanātha which are the first authoritative works dealing with Basava and his school. The word Jaṅgama is invariably used in those works. Introduction to Sivatatvasāramu, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita, edited by N.Venkata Rao.

35. A.Barth, The Religions of India, p. 209; S.C. Nandimath, A Handbook of Vīra Saivaism, pp.17- 18; J.N. Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literatureof India, p.263.

36. E.C. Vol. VII, Pt.I. Sh.1.

37. S.I.I. Vol. IX, Pt.11, No.427.

38. E.C. Vol.XII, Tp.9.

39. The Liṅgāyat movement started by Basava, son of a Brahman who rose to the influential position of the minister of Bijjala, the Kaḷacurya king, was a revolt against Brahmanism. Basava advocated that Śiva is superior to every other God and those who wear the Liṅga symbolising the Iṣta Liṅga transcend all barriers of caste and community. Thus the Liṅgāyat religion promoted a universal brotherhood admitting into its fold people of all castes and classes and based purely on bhakti to Śiva.BS.Pr. Ch.1, pp.25-26, 31-32.

40. Ibid., Introduction, pp.7-21; A.P. Karmakar, Religions of India, p.309.

41. Carmāsim bhujagam gadāpi ca maha śaktim ca khatvāngakam cāpam cātaśilīmukham ca paraśum śūlam tadanah karaiha. Here Vīrabhadra is described as wearing the skin of an elephant with the following attributes; snake, mace, sword, bow and arrow, axe and trident. S.I.I. Vol.Iv, No.702.

42. MER. 1901, No.338.

43. E.C. IV, Pt.11, Kr.21,22.

44. E.C. X, Kl.73.

45. MER, 1935-36, No.300.

46. MER, 1937-38, No.263.

47. E.C. IV, Pt.11, Ch.99.

48. S.I.I. Vol. IV, No.702.

49. According to Matsya Purāṇa, Vīrabhadra was directed by Lord Śiva after the destruction of Dakṣa to stop his destructive activities and take a place in the planetary position as Aṅgāraka. Hence Aṅgārakavāra or Tuesday is auspicious for Vīrabhadra.

50. Purantara Prakaraṇa, p.360.

51. Am. Ml. Ch.IV, V.43.

52. Vijayanagara, Progress of Research, 1983-84, pp.133- 135.

53. R.G.Bhandarkar, Collected Works, Vol.IV, pp.196-97.

54. Kh. Mh. Ch.1, VV, 35-38.

55. MER, 1915, No.22.

56. Ibid., No.33.

57. Ibid., No.16.

58. A.P.Karmarkar, Religions of India, p.309.

59. E.C. XII, Kg.49.

60. Karnāṭa Kavi Caritra, 11, pp.97-100.

61. S.I.I. Vol. XVI, No.245. See also under Religious Institutions, Chapter on Maṭhas.

62. Dīkṣaprakaraṇamu, p.233; E.C. IV, Ch.211.

63. The six stages are Bhakta Sthala, Mahēśvara Sthala, Prasāda Sthala, Prāṇaliṅga Sthala, Saraṇa Sthala and Ikya sthala. AVaidehi, Social and Economic History of the Andhras, p.230.

64. 'Stha' means Sthāna and 'la' means laya. Sthala is defined as one Brahman identified with Sat, Cit and Ananda. S.Das Gupta. A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol.V, p.61.

65. "The individual soul is neither absolutely identical with nor entirely different from God. It is a part of which God is the whole; it is the body of which God is the soul. Para Siva is both the material and instrumental cause of the universe. The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.V, p.447; R.G.Bhandarkar, Collected Works, Vol.IV, p.195.

66. "Brahman associated with its potency (Sakti), Māyā or Mulavidya, appears as the qualified Brahman (Saguṇa) or Savisēṣa, the Lord (Isvara) who is the creator, preserver and destroyer of this work which is His appearance." Chandradhar Sharma, A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy, p.252.

67. D.S.Sarma, Hinduism Through the Ages, pp.33-34.

68. "Strictly speaking," says T.M.P. Mahadevan, "Advaitism is not a system in the sense of a set of closed doctrines. Its primary aim is to break through all limited views of reality and lead the aspirant to the plenary experience of the Absolute which is limitless. Outlines of Hinduism, p.142.

69. According to Saṅkara, salvation is Sarvātma- bhāva. "This universe is myself who am all this. Identity with all is his highest state;

the self's own natural supreme state." S.Radhakrishnan, History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western, p.281.

70. S.Radhakrishnan, HinduView of life, p.47.

71. Bhāratīya Vidya, Vol. XIII, p.84.

72. Our Heritage, p.61.

73. Bukka Vidyātīrtha munēḥ kṛipāmbudhi

sasi bhōgāvatārōbhavat lōkah kuṭumbam

asva ksōṇi sarvāpi śāsvatam kṣētram. E.C.IV,Part II, Yd.46.

74. My Arch. Rep. 1908, p.14. The suffix Isa added to Vidyātīrtha indicates that he was considered as an incarnation of Mahēśvara.

75. It is likely that he helped the royal brothers in founding the Vidyānagara Kingdom, though his disciple Vidyāraṇya is generally believed to have done so. The latter may have continued the policy of Vidyātīrtha and strengthened the foundation.

76. My Arch. Rep. 1928, p.15.

77. Fur. So. Vol.III, p.9.

78. Vidyāśaṅkara Siṣyēna Vidyāraṇyēna Yōgina, Fur. So.Vol.II, p.14.

79. The following verse is found in the beginning of Jīvamukti Viveka

Yasya niśvastitam vēdā yō vēdēbhyōkhilam jagat

Nirmame tamaham vandē vidyatīrtha mahēśvaram.

Anubhūti Prakāśika and Śaṅkara Digvijaya also

contain invocations to him.

He whose breath is the Vēdas, who created the whole world according to Vēdas --Him do I reverence,Vidyātīrtha Mahēśvara. E.C.VI, Sg.28; S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.11, 430.

80. Seshagiri Sastri, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, No.2, pp.100-256.

81. Fur.So. Vol.III, p.9.

82. Fur. So. Vol.III, p.9; Q.J.M.S. 8, p.23.

83. My Arch. Rep., 1916, p.57.

84. My. Arch. Rep., 1916. p.58.

85. E.C. VI, Kp.33; E.C. VIII, p.193; E.C.VI, kp.44; E.C.VI, Ck.88.

86. Vidyātīrthāya guravē parasmaitējasēnamaḥ yasya nāṅgī kṛita snēhā dāsāhānih kadācana. E.C.VI, Sg.1.A record from Śṛṅgēri dated A.D. 1356 opens with a verse in praise of Vidyātīrtha which says "that the lord of ascetics surpassesthe sun by his ability to remove both the internal and external darkness of men both day and night." My Arch.Rep.1916, Paras 93,94

87. My. Arch. Rep. 1916, para 97.

88. Ibid. p.59.

89. Pañcadasi, IV,11.

90. Tatvavivēkaprakaraṇa, VV. 53- 60.

91. Kūṭaṣṭadīpaprakaraṇa, VVI-76.

92. Dhyānadīpaprakaraṇa, VV, 54-115, 131-157.

93. Mahābhūtavivēkaprakaraṇa, VV.102, 106, 109.

Dvaitavivēkaprakaraṇa.

94. It is maintained that the Śṛṅgēri was a great centre of Śakti worshippers as is evident from the prevalence of Śakti worship in these parts at the present day. "It was possibly on this account, Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, of hallowed and revered memory, in the later half of the 8th century A.D., came here and established the great Advaita Maṭha in the Dasinamnaya Pīṭha for the spreading and propagation of the tenets of Advaita and installed Śrī Sāradā Dēvī here."

95. My. Ar. Rep. 1928, p.15.

96. The text is not clear as to whether these two persons, Narasiṁha Bhāratī and Candrasēkhara Bhāratī, successively followed Śaṅkara Bhāratī on the pontificial seat at Śṛṅgēri and whether Rāmcandra Bhāratī succeeded Nṛsiṁha Bhāratī or Śaṅkara Bhāratī.

97. My. Arch. Rep. 1961. p.58.

98. Ibid., 1908, pp.14-15; E.C. VI, Kg.30.

99. E.C.VI, Sg.1; My.Arch. Rep. 1916, pp. 58-59.

100. S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.11, No.430.

101. E.C. Vi, Sg.31.

102. Ibid., Sg.29.

103. Ibid., Sg.33.

104. Ibid., Kp.44.

105. Ibid., Sg.21.

106. Ibid., Sg.10.

107. Mysore Gazetteer, Vol.I, p.474.

108. My.Arch.Rep. 1928, p.17.

109. E.C. Vol.VI, Sg.1.

110. The name Kāmakōṭi is probably after the Goddess Kāma-Koṭyambikā of Kañcī. The Maṭha itself is known as Śāradā Maṭha to this day. Ep. Ind. Vol.XIII, p.123.

111. Cp. I.S.S. No.2.

112. Cp. I.S.S. No.3.

113. Cp. I.S.S. No.4; Ep. XIII, pp.122-132.

114. Cp. I.S.S. No.V; Ep. Ind. Vol.XIV, pp.169-175.

115. Introduction to Appayya Dīkṣita's commentary on Yādavābhyudaya, p.2.

116. Iti Śrīmadvaita Vidyācārya Śrīmadbhāradvāja- Kula--Śrīraṅga rājadhavari Varasūnōh.-Nidhirasyanam.

117. The date of Appayya Dīkṣita was the subject of controversy of many writers. Different dates have been given to him.A.V. Gōpālacahriar argued that Appayya Dīkṣita was born in A.D.1552. Yādavābhyudaya, commentary by Appayya Dīkṣita, Introduction, p.4. Y. Mahāliṅga Sastri assigned an earlier date for Appayya Dīkṣita, that is, A.D. 1520- A.D.1593. J.O.R. Madras, 1928, Vol.II, Pts. III-IV, p.225; 1929, Vol.III, pt.11, p.140.

118. Appayya Dīkṣitēndran Śēṣavidyāgurūnaham vandē

Yatkrutibōdhābōdhan Vidvadvidvadvibhajakōpādhi

119. Sources, p.205; Father Heras, Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, p.114; J.O.R.Madras, 1928, Vol.II, Pts.111- IV,p.231.

120. J.O.R. Madras, 1928, Vol.II, Pt. III-IV, p.231.

121. Father Heras, Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, pp.40,139, 192, 234, 280, 288, 289, 316, 321, 523.

122. Sources, p.251.

123. M.E.R. 1911, No.395, para 71.

124. Kuvalayānanda and Vidhirasāyana contain references to King Veṅkaṭapatirāya.

Amum Kuvalayānanaṁdamakarodappadīkṣitah

Niyōgād Veṅkaṭapatēḥ Nirupādhi Kṛipānidhēḥ.

125. Father Heras, Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, p.316.

126. M.E.R., 1911, No.395, 1912, para 71.

127. Ep. Ind. Vol.12, p.342.

128. Prapannāmrtam, Ch.126.

129. J.O.R.Madras, 1929, p.156.

130. Appayya Dīkṣitēndravijaya, K.V.Subrahmanya Sastrigal with a foreword by K.S.Rāmaswami Sastriar. The first verse runs as follows:

Māramaṇam Umāramaṇam Phaṇadharatalpam Phaṇadhara Kalpam

Muramadhanam Puramadhanam vandē Bāṇarimasamabāṇarimu

131. Ōm Namō ham-padārthāya lōkānām siddhi-hetave

Saccidānanda--rūpāya Śivāya Paramātmane.

Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya, Introductory verse.

132. Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya, 1-1-1, Vol.1, p.34.

133. Appayya Dīkṣita's commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya, Vol.II, p.47.

134. Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya, IV, 4-17-22, 111-3-40.

135. S.Radhakrishnan, History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western, pp.369-70.

136. T.Gopinātha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol.II, Pt.1, p.66 ff.

137. Śivajñāna Siddhiyar, II, ii.25.

138. J.M.Nallasvami Pillai, Studies in Śaiva Siddhānta, pp.229-30.

139. A.P.Karmarkar, Religions of India, p.290.

140. T.M.P. Mahadevan, Outlines Hinduism, p.170.

4

Vaiṣṇavism

Vaiṣṇavism was another very popular and widely prevalent religion in the Vijayanagar Empire. Several factors contributed to the popularity of this faith. One of these was the inherent attractiveness to the common man of some of the philosophical postulates, and doctrinal practices. For instance, the Vaiṣṇava concept of God as Saguṇa Brahman and as one possessing a celestial body of unsurpassable beauty and endowed with auspicious qualities was within the comprehension of the common man who, obviously, could not grapple with the metaphysical abstractions involved in the Advaita concept of Nirguṇa Brahman. Moreover, the concept of Saguṇa Brahman enabled the easy establishment of a kind of personal equation between man and god. The Śrī Saṁpradāya aspect of Vaiṣṇavism, associating as it does, Lakṣmī or the Goddess of Wealth, with her Divine Consort, Lord Viṣṇu, in granting Mukti to the spiritual aspirant, had a great appeal to the imagination of the unsophisticated as well as the intellectual. Again, the Visiṣṭādvaita doctrine of Prapatti or salvation through self-surrender, the idea that man could attain Mukti by complete self-resignation to God on one's mere desire was certainly more appealing and attractive than the alternatives of strict monasticism, rigorous austerities, rigid discipline and the like which characterised the way to salvation offered by the other Darsanas. Again, the great importance given to Hari-dāsas and their dāsas had a great appeal since this dāsa and dāsa-dāsa Bhakti suggested the vision and contemplation of God in every atom of God's creation and the significance and purpose of each and every self. The Vaiṣṇava practice of appropriation by the devotees of the Dēva-prasāda or offerings made to the deity had an undoubtedly great appeal to the popular imagination. According to the Saiva Āgamas the devotees should not partake of the Naivēdya offered to

God. The partaking of the Naivēdya by the Vaiṣṇava devotee gave him a feeling, denied to the Saivaite, of closeness to his creator. In fact the destiny of the human soul, in the Viśiṣṭādvaita thought, is Parama-Pada or Vaikuṇṭha where the soul revels in close communion with the Almighty. In this concept the greatest attraction was not so much the attainment of Mukti but the entry of the soul into the beautiful domain of the Lord where it enjoys all the celestial bliss on a par with Him.

Royal patronage was another factor which greatly contributed to the popularity of the Vaiṣṇava faith in the Empire. It is a matter of common knowledge that it was an age during which, the world over, not only the development of religion but of the arts and letters depended to a very large extent on royal patronage. The Saṅgamas, members of the first dynasty, were, though tolerant in the best traditions of Indian kingship, towards other Darśanas, were staunch Śaivas. Hence, notwithstanding the commendable efforts of Vaiṣṇava leaders like the Tātācāryas and the Uttama- naṁbis, Vaiṣṇavism could not make much progress during the rule of the Saṅgama dynasty. But with the coming into power of the Sāḷuvas, the second dynasty, a new and glorious chapter in the history of Vaiṣṇavism began in the Vijayanagar Empire. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha,, founder of the second dynasty, was considered an incarnation of Lord Narasiṁha, the presiding deity of Ahōbilam. The Sāḷuvas, as well as rulers of the subsequent dynasties that guided the destinies of the Empire, were all staunch Vaiṣṇavas, though tolerant towards others faiths.

Yet another factor which contributed to the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism in the Vijayanagara Empire was the extension of the sway of the Vijayanagara Emperors over the Tamil country. The Tamil country for many centuries, prior to the rise of Vijayanagara Empire, had been a stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism. As a result of its annexation to the Empire of Vijayanagara, close contacts developed between that region and the other parts of the Empire.

The popularity of the faith in the Empire was in no small measure due to the exertions of a number of Vaiṣṇava divines and teachers. The pride of place among these belongs to the members of the Tāḷḷapākam family of poets and the Bhaṭṭars of Śrīraṅgam. Because of these factors, the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Rāmānuja as well as the Dvaita school of Madhva became popular and attracted a large number of adherents in the Vijayanagara Empire.

Viśiṣṭādvaita School of Rāmānuja

Rāmānuja who flourished in the early part of the 12th century was the founder of this school. With Śrīraṅgam as the main centre of his mission-

ary activity and philosophical endeavour, he toured extensively visiting the important religious centres of the times. He converted the Hoysala ruler to the Vaiṣṇava faith and established at Melkōṭe in the Kannada region an influential seat for Vaiṣṇavism.[1] The path of Prapatti advocated by the Āḷvars was strengthened by Rāmānuja against the background of the Upaniṣads and the Vēdānta Sūtras.[2]

Rāmānuja established three categories, namely, soul, not soul and Lord. Individual spirits are souls; the visible world is not soul; and Hari or Viṣṇu is Lord.[3] The individual spirit called soul is eternal, self-luminous, atomic and is different from the Supreme Spirit like two birds, companions and friends. "The Soul is neither born, nor dies, nor having been shall it again cease to be; unborn, unchanging, eternal, this ancient of days is not killed when the body is killed."[4] Isvara grants happiness and sorrow according to the Karma of Jīva. Hence Rāmānuja accepted the theory of Karma as an inevitable adjunct.[5] However, the incubus of Karma is relieved by Kṛpa or mercy of God who created the World out of Kṛpa.

The visible unsentient world is designated by the word not soul. Brahman is real and so the world which is His manifestation is also real. He creates the world out of pure joy but differentiates Himself from the world and the individual.

The third category, Lord, the efficient and substantial cause of the world, is known under the names Puruṣōttama (best of spirits) and Vāsudēva (a patronymic of Kṛṣṇa). Vāsudēva, infinitely compassionate, exists under five modes distinguished as (1) adoration (arcā), (2) emanation (vibhava), (3) manifestation (vyūha), (4) the subtile (Sūkṣma) and (5) the Internal Controller.

The attributes of Vāsudēva are exemption from sin as attested to in the Vēdic text, passionless, deathless, without sorrow, without hunger, desiring truth, true in purpose. Vāsudēva is the in-dwelling spirit described in the Upaniṣads as one who abides in the soul. By worshipping all the embodiments, the sins of the votary are destroyed, and this results in the realisation of the self as distinct from Prakriti and as an attribute of God.[6]

The Pañcarātra prescribed five elements in the worship of the Deity: (1) the access (sweeping and smearing of the way to the temple), (2) the preparation (supplying perfumes, flowers and similar appliances of worship), (3) the oblation (worship of the deities), (4) the recitation (singing of hymns in praise of Lord Viṣṇu, (5) the devotion (continuous meditation on divine love). By following this Pañcarātra system of worship, the

seeker after liberation realises that self is distinct from Prakṛiti and is an attribute of God.[7]

The knowledge of Brahman is not eternal in this life. It is by transporting himself to the world of Brahman that the Mukta or liberated soul attains immortal bliss. While the Advaitins believe that liberation is possible in this life, and also afterwards (Jīvanmukti and Vidēha-mukti) the Viśiṣṭādvaitins contend that liberation from worldly existence is the right type of Mukti. The Mukta ascends to the beautiful region of Vaikuṇṭha, the home of Lord Nārāyaṇa, and enjoys the status of the Lord. The liberated soul attains Sāyujya or the eternal bliss of union with Lord. In this state of union, the sense of separateness disappears but the distinction between Ātman and Brahman remains. It attains the nature of God but is not identical with Him.[8]

Thus Rāmānuja established the sole supremacy of Viṣṇu and emphasised selfless service and devotion to Him. As a result, Vaiṣṇavism gained many adherents without any reference to caste, sex or colour.The emphasis on service to God was accepted in theory and practice by his disciples. They rendered service to Lord Viṣṇu by maintaining flower gardens and ensured a regular supply of flowers in the Sanctum. Generally the Ekāṅgis who dedicated their lives for divine service and Jīyars or religious teachers managed the flower gardens. It was on account of Rāmānuja's efforts that the Āḷvars were deified and special shrines were constructed. The recitation of Nālāyira Divya Prabaṅdham composed by the Āḷvars became a regular feature in the Vaiṣṇava temples. Recitation of the Prabaṅdham in Tamil as against Vēdas in Sanskrit language, which was beyond the comprehension of the common man, opened vistas of the highest spiritual knowledge to the commonfolk. The celebration of the birth asterisms of the Āḷvars may be attributed to the influence of Rāmānuja.

Rāmānuja commanded such great reverence from his disciples that in due course he was deified and shrines were constructed in his honour. That shrine was known as Uḍaiyavar Emperumanar Kōyil.[9] In this, regular worship was offered daily and on special occasions Rāmānuja was taken out in procession along with the processional image of the main deity. The free feeding houses known as Rāmānuja kūṭams,[10] Rāmānuja Tiruvīdhi and Uḍaiyavar Kālvay Paṭṭdai[11] were the outward visible marks of Rāmānuja's profound influence. Many of the epigraphs invariably contain an invocation of Rāmānuja.[12]

Vaḍagalai and Teṅgalai

So long as Rāmānuja's powerful personality was there, there was

unity in the ranks of the followers of Viśiṣṭādvaita. But after his death in A.D. 1137 the Viśiṣṭādvaitins became divided into two groups known as the Vaḍagalai and the Teṅgalai. These differences continued during the Vijayanagara period. The Vaḍagalais are so called because they favoured Sanskrit philosophical literature and the Teṅgalais are so called because they followed the Divyaprabaṅdha of the Āḷvars. The doctrinal differences or dichotomy between these groups centred round the connection between God's grace and man's effort in attaining salvation. The Vaḍagalai school held that in the attainment of salvation individual effort should be the first step. Only when a person realises his powers to be inadequate to deserve the grace of God, he surrenders himself unconditionally to Him. But the Teṅgalais believed that no such self-effort was necessary, as God's love is spontaneous. All that a man has to do to reach His region was to surrender himself to Him. While the Vaḍagalai follows the Markaṭanyāya, the Teṅgalai adopts the Mārjāla Kiṣōraṅyāya. Just as a young monkey takes its first lessons to safegaurd its security by clinging to its mother in her errands, the Vaḍagalai say that the individual must endeavour in the same way to achieve liberation. Teṅgalais opposed this view with the contention that God leads His children, as a cat carries the kitten in its mouth. Thus the Teṅgalais avoided the preparatory difficulties to which the Vaḍagalais attach great importance.

Since God's grace was spontaneous, the Teṅgalais argued that sins might be committed by men without any reference to punishment. But the Vaḍagalais contended that sins could not be committed with impunity, because while God in His infinite mercy forgave sins, He preferred His devotees to be free from the taint of sin.[13]

The position and nature of Lakṣmī also became controversial among the Vaḍagalais and Teṅgalais. The former regard Śrī as infinite or Vibhu and as part and parcel of the Lord. "The two, Iśvara and Śrī, are one ontologically.[14] She had an equally important role in the preservation of the Universe. The Teṅgalais conceived her as a finite being like a Jīva who played the role of a mediator between the sinner and the saviour. She has no independent powers but enjoys the prerogative of recommending her wards for salvation. Both the Vaḍagalais and Teṅgalais insist that her mercy is essential for Mukti.

They differed regarding the caste system also. The Vaḍagalai believed that the Varaṇāśrama Dharma was essential for Bhakti Yōga whereas the Teṅgalais contended that Prapatti transcends all caste and creed barriers. Even a man of the fourth caste is entitled to the grace of God through Bhakti. Consequently the Teṅgalais who denied the institution of caste were more liberal in their outlook and practices and this had

a greater appeal to the masses than the Vaḍagalai doctrine which adhered to the caste system.

There were differences in the observance of religious ceremonies also. While the Vaḍagalais offered food only to God on the Śrāddha day, the Teṅgalais offered to the Nityas and Ācāryas also. For the Vaḍagalais, sacrifices were meritorious to secure a place in heaven. The Teṅgalais considered it a sin to kill animals for human ends. Ringing of the bell during pūja was observed by the Vaḍagalais, whereas it was not accepted by the Teṅgalais. The Teṅgalais considered Vēdānta Dēsika as an Avatar of the Ghaṇṭa of Veṅkaṭēsvara; and hence they do not ring the bell at the time of pūja.

The Teṅgalais performed the Sāṣṭānga Namaskāra to every Vaiṣṇava of their school whether a person was young or old, a Sudra or a Brahman, high or low. But the Vaḍagalais considered that salutation should be made only to deserving persons like a Guru, a Brahman, wife of a Guru and a Mother. Thus the caste rigidity enjoined in the Vaḍagalai school is reflected in their social practices.[15]

With these differences it was but natural that the Vaḍagalais and Teṅgalais developed and organised their temples and institutions for the spread of their religious tenets. The Vaḍagalai temples were the folowing. Tiruvahīndrapuram, Ahōbilam, Alundūr, Kudanḍai identified with Kuṁbhakōṇam, Kuḍalūr, Kavittalam, Kandiyūr near Tanjore, Kudandai (Kuṁbhakōṇam), Alliyūr (Kaṅci), Adanūr (Kuṁbhakōṇam), Kuḍalūr (Pāpanāsam), Siṅgavel Kuṇṛam (Ahōbilam), Tanjore, Pullam Pudangudi (Kuṁbhakōṇam), Vinnagar (Kuṁbhakōṇam). The others may be considered as belonging to the Teṅgalai Vaiṣṇavas.[16]

Vēdānta Dēsika

Vēdānta Dēsika as a real representative of the Rāmānuja Darśana tried to bridge the differences between the Vaḍagalais and Teṅgalais.[17] He was a staunch advocate of Prapatti; to him the Āḷvars and Ācāryas were a source of inspiration. In his conception of Prapatti, Vēdānta Dēsika has emphasized Visiṣṭādvaitam in its ethical and esoteric aspect. He emphasised the institutionalism of Prapatti and admitted even the lowest caste into Prapatti Vidya. Nyāya Dasakam and Nyāya Viṁsati propound his philosophy of Prapatti.

He toured extensively and visited the Vaiṣṇava shrines of Northern India as well as places of Śrī Vaiṣṇava interest in Southern India. He made Kaṅci, Tiruvahīndrapuram, and Śrīraṅgam the centres of his relentless activity in the sphere of literature, religion and philosophy. He earned a reputation for versatility, beauty of style and thought, unim-

peachable fervour, deep spiritual insight and above all as a champion of Rāmānuja Darsana. His fame as a controversialist was equally great. In his Satadūṣani he refuted the Advaita system. He had to meet the challenge of not only the rival sects but also the growing jealousy of the Teṅgalais. He defeated the Advaita teachers of Śrīraṅgam and strengthened the cause of Visiṣṭādvaita. According to tradition, the Teṅgalai followers hung old shoes on the door of Vēdānta Dēsika's residence to insult and slight him. But Vēdānta Dēsika, who considered the Pādadhūḷi of the Bhaktas as equal to the worship of Śrī Raṅganātha, seems to have recited the following verse as a way of reprisal: Karmāvalaṁ bakāh Kēcit Kēcit Jñānāvalaṁ bakāh Vayantu Haridāsānām Pādarakṣāvalaṁbakāh.[18]

Vēdānta Dēsika commanded such profound respect from his contemporaries that he was invited to arbitrate in a Śāstraic disputation between Vidyāraṇya, the Advaita philosopher, and Akṣōbhya Tīrtha, a disciple of Madhvācārya on the point of the text "Tattvamasi".[19] Vidyāraṇya, exasperated with his defeat, tried to point out defects in the Satadūṣani of Vēdānta Dēsika. The only defect he could detect in the Satadūṣani was the use of the word "ca" in a certain context. However, Dēsika was not to be outwitted. Defending the use of the word "ca" in that context he wrote Cakāra Samarthana. When Vēdānta Dēsika's greatness spread far and wide he received an invitation from the Vijayanagara court on the advice of Vidyāraṇya who wanted to confer royal honours on Vēdānta Dēsika. But the great Visiṣṭādvaita teacher who was not carried away by the gloss and glitter of court life did not accept the invitation. Probably his Vairāgya Pañcaka represents his spirit of renunciation of all pomp and splendour.[20]

He was an eye-witness to the plunder of Śrīraṅgam and the massacre of temple priests and the old Śrī Vaiṣṇava teachers and philosophers like Sudarsana Bhaṭṭa. Vēdānta Dēsika strove his best to save the philosophical works of great value including the Śrī Bhāṣya and the Śrutaprakāśika. He composed Abhītistava praying God for the restoration of normalcy at Śrīraṅgam.

Thus in the history of Visiṣṭādvaitic thought Vēdānta Dēsika occupies a unique place. He is the only religious leader of his times who commanded respect from his rival religionists like Vidyāraṇya and Appayya Dīkṣita. The great Advaita philosopher Vidyāraṇya quoted passages from Vēdānta Dēsikas' Tattva Muktā Kalāpa while dealing with the philosophy of Visiṣṭādvaita in his Sarvadarsana Saṅgraha.[21] Appayya Dīkṣita of the Śrīkaṇṭha Saivāgama school(15th-16th centuries A.D.) considered Yādavābhyudaya and Pāduka Sahasra as authoritative works.

His contribution to the cause of Hinduism at a time when the social order was dangerously shaken in the wake of Muhammadan invasions was seminal. In those troubled times he stood for the preservation of the ancient Vedic culture and the Varṇāśrama Dharma. But at the same time by admitting the lower castes into the fold of Vaiṣṇavism he strengthened the cause of Hinduism. Thus "Vēdānta Dēsika's role in the history of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism is the role of a unifying force trying its utmost for a peaceful settlement of discord between conservatism and progressivism, between Vēda and Prabandham, between Dharma and Brahman, between Jñāna and Bhakti and, to crown all, between Teṅgalaism and Vaḍagalaism."[22]

After Vēdānta Dēsika passed away in A.D. 1369, the mantle of leadership fell on his son Varadanātha or Kumāra Vēdāntācārya. Varadanātha like his illustrious father was a great scholar and exponent of the Visiṣṭādvaita Vēdānta. It was he who instituted the worship of the image of Dēsika and popularised the Dēsika cult. All the Vaḍagalai Śrī Vaiṣṇava temples contain a shrine dedicated to Vēdānta Dēsika just as there were shrines dedicated to Śrī Rāmānuja in Śrī Vaiṣṇava temples. Among his disciples Brahma Tantra Svatantra popularised the teachings of Vēdānta Dēsika by establishing Maṭhas at Kanci in A.D. 1360 and later at Mysore.[23] Prativādi Bhayankara Aṇṇa, a Teṅgalai teacher, defeated the great Advaita teacher Narasimha Misra in a philosophical disputation at Kanci with the blessings of Varadanātha.[24] He is credited with the authorship of Saptatiratnamālika which was composed to prove the greatness of Vēdānta Dēsika and his teachings. Śrīnivāsa Dāsa, Rāmānuja Dāsa alias Mahācārya, Doḍḍayācārya, Ranga Rāmānuja Muni, Veṅkaṭādhvarin, Periya Yatirāja Jīyar, were the well known disciples of Vēdānta Dēsika.

However, when Brahma Tantra Svatantra withdrew to Tirupati, Prativādibhayankara Aṇṇa formally joined the Prabandhic party at Śrīrangam. As a result of this chaotic state, the Vaḍagalai Vaiṣṇavas were forced to find a leader who could establish some order in their ranks. The choice fell on the celebrated saint Ādivan Saṭhagōpa Svāmi, the founder of the Ahōbila Maṭha. The Svāmi in his pūrvāśrama was the son of Kidāmbi Kesavācārya, a native of Tiru Nārāyaṇapuram in Mysore Country.[25] Trained by Varadaviṣṇu Ācārya, the disciple of Nayinār at Kanci, he soon obtained a reputation for erudition. Inspired by the Lord Narasimha of Ahōbilam who appeared before him in a dream, he soon became a Sanyāsin in A.D. 1398 and dedicated himself to His service. He took charge of the temple at Ahōbilam, embraced the life of a 'Jīyar' and propagated the Dēsika cult throughout South India through congregation in his own monastery in the name of Nṛsimha.[26] He carried

the image of Lakṣmī Nṛsimha wherever he went, administered the Vaiṣṇava symbols, and established a chain of Maṭhas, in which the works of Rāmānuja and Dēsika were compulsory studies. Saṭhagōpa was the first to give some privileges to the lower classes in the temples he built at Kadiri and instituted a class of missionaries called Ahōbila Dāsaris to uplift the hill tribes. He had great influence at the Court of Vijayanagara under Dēvarāya II. Saṭhagōpa presided over the Maṭha for a period of sixty years, i.e., upto A.D. 1458.[27]

His disciple Tōḷappa or Veṅkaṭanātha had for himself the title Vaidīka Sārvabhauma through his numerous works on Vaiṣṇava observances, Smṛti Ratnākara or Sadācāra Saṅgraha, Grihya Ratna and a commentary on it, Khaṇdabhūṣana, Pitṛmedhsāra, Sudhīvilōcana, Dāsaniranya, etc.[28]

The Religion of the Kings and the spread of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism

The early kings of theVijayanagarawere Śaivas guided by the Advaita and Kālamukha teachers. But they were tolerant of the other sects like Jaina and Vaiṣṇava also. However, in the later half of the fifteenth century Vaiṣṇavism superseded the other religions and came to occupy the place of Śaivism as the religion of the ruling House.

A story related in Prapannāmṛtam has led some scholars to believe that the change of faith from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism occurred during the reign of Virūpākṣa (A.D. 1467- 1486).[29] It is related how an attempt to murder King Virūpākṣa failed and in order to take revenge King Virūpākṣa assassinated all his relatives and how they became ghosts because of their unnatural death. To escape from the ghosts, Virūpākṣa shifted his residence to a new palace which he got built. However, he was ultimately freed from the spirits by two Vaiṣṇava brothers by name Eṭṭūr Siṅgarācārya or Nṛsiṁha Guru and his younger brother Śrīraṅgācārya hailing from Eṭṭūr. In order to earn money they set out to Vijayanagara and in the middle of the night entered the haunted palace deserted by Kingmistaking it for his residence. The ghosts on enquiry learnt the story of the brothers and arranged with them the recital of Rāmāyaṇa every night for which they promised to pay the brothers one niṣka every day. The recitation of Rāmāyaṇa washed off the sins of the ghosts and redeemed them from their evil forms. The neighbours of the palace who, as a consequence, obtained great relief reported the matter to King Virūpākṣa. The King, impressed with the powers of the brothers, sent for them. He came to know that they were the descendants of the famous Śrīśailapūrṇa whom God Veṅkaṭēśvara called 'father' and who explained the Rāmāyaṇa in twenty-four different ways to Rāmānuja. This induced in the King great bhakti for the holy scripture

Rāmāyaṇa, God Rāma and Guru Nṛsiṁha, with the result that the King was converted from Saivism to Vaiṣṇavism. After his conversion he was enlightened on the Rāmāyaṇa by his Guru Nṛsiṁhāācārya. The King honoured him with a Kanakābhiṣēka on the day of the reading of the Pattābhiṣēka Sarga.

The story concludes thus: when Virūpākṣa became a Vaiṣṇava, all his subjects also became followers of Vaiṣṇavism. The King from that time gave up the use of the old seal with the sign manual Virūpākṣa on it, and adopted a new one on which was inscribed the name Śrī Rāma.[30]

But the apocryphal nature of the story has been rightly brought out by B.A. Saletore who gave no credence to the above story and maintains that King Virūpākṣa's reign being utterly devoid of any importance could never have been marked by an outstanding event like the conversion of the monarch and of the people from Saivism to Vaiṣṇavism.[31] He further contradicts the statement that Virūpākṣa and his successors adopted the sign manual of a Vaiṣṇava deity Śrī Rāma who occupied the place of Śrī Virūpākṣa. This is proved from the fact that the sign manual Śrī Virūpākṣa was in vogue for nearly hundred years after King Virūpākṣa.

Dēvarāya II was known for his eclecticism as evidenced from his patronage to the Vaiṣṇava temples and teachers.[32] Similarly, Virūpākṣa too was only liberal to the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and the propagation of their ideas. Their later hagiologies, particularly Prapannāmṛtam which must have been composed during the later half of sixteenth century exaggerated the influence of their creed on the Vijayanagara rulers.

Ample epigraphic evidence provides conclusive proof that Virūpākṣa was a Saiva and remained a Saiva till the last days of his rule. In furtherance of this view point, according to the Śrīśailam plates, Śiva was born to Siddhalā Dēvī as Virūpākṣa. He was also described as Parama Iśvara.[33] According to his Sōmalāpuram grant he was renowned as Cchurikā Bhālanētra (Śiva in wielding the sword).[34] Virūpākṣa performed his coronation in the presence of God Virūpākṣa at Hampi. He was specially devoted to Lord Mallikārjuna of Śrīparvata and showed favours to the Vīra Saiva teacher Śrī Liṅgaca krēśvara of Śrīparvata. On the occasion of his coronation in A.D. 1466 he granted the village of Śirumanātukūru under the name of Virūpākṣapura to the Vīra Saiva guru, Siddha Bhikṣāvṛtti, alias Śrīliṅgacakrēśvara, along with four hundred pagodas.[35] In the same year, viz., A.D. 1466 Virūpākṣa granted the village Hebbāla to God Cenna Kēśava of Bēlūr for the daily major offerings and the Vaijayanti garland for the God.[36] In A.D. 1474 he made a gift of the village Ālugōḍu in the presence of the god Candramauḷi of

the Bhāskara Kṣētra on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra.[37] Notwithstanding the fact that the best in the tradition of Indo-Aryan kingship required of every ruler that he should extend his patronage to all cults and creeds, whatever be his personal religious feelings and beliefs, and taking into account the clinching evidence of the Śrīsailam and Sōmalāpuram grants and his coronation in the presence of Virūpākṣa cited above to the effect that his personal faith was Saivism, and further, the fact that there is no positive evidence of his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism, it may reasonably be concluded that he remained a Saivaite till the end of his reign. Some of his officers were also devoted to Siva judging from their gifts to the Saiva temples ranging from A.D. 1468 to A.D. 1484.[38]

The Prapannāmṛtam was essentially a Vaiṣṇava work and prone to glorify the cause of Vaiṣṇavism to the extent of converting the King to it's order. It was with the rise of Sāḷuva chiefs to power that Vaiṣṇavism acquired great importance. The accession of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, a descendant of Sāḷuva Mangu, the famous Śrī Vaiṣṇava general of Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa, to the Vijayanagara throne in A.D. 1492, marked the triumph of Vaiṣṇavism and its emergence as the religion of the Royal House.[39]

Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was considered to be an incarnation of Lord Nṛsiṁha of Ahōbilam and Veṅkaṭēsvara of Tirupati. The Jaimini Bhāratamu opens with an invocation to Lord Veṅkaṭēsa resting on the divine serpent or Sēṣa, to bestow all kinds of prosperity on Sāḷuva Narasiṁha.[40] Sāḷuva Narasiṁha is compared with Narasiṁha of Ahōbilam who is an Avatāra of Lord Viṣṇu worshipped at Tirupati.[41]

His devotion to Viṣṇu is expressed through the large benefactions made to the Vaiṣṇava temples. Among them the Veṅkaṭēsvara Temple at Tirumala received the larger share of the royal bounty. He granted no less than eleven villages between 12-9-1456 and 15- 6- 1473 [42] and constructed the Vasanta Maṅḍapam in the middle of Svāmi Puṣkariṇi at Tirumala where the processional image of Śrī Veṅkaṭēsvara rested during the float and summer festivals.[43] He installed an image of Śrī Lakṣmī Narasiṁha Svāmi on the pathway leading to Tirumalai Hill in A.D. 1485.[44]

The special privileges and honours granted to the Śāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas in the time of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha were unique in the history of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism in South India. These Śāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas were non-Brahmans belonging to the Teṅgalai sect of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. Kaṅdāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgar, a Śrī Vaiṣṇava teacher of great repute, for whom Sāḷuva Narasiṁha had great respect, played an important role as a leader of the Śāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇava community.[45] The other Śrī Vaiṣṇava temples. also were recipients of many gifts.

Immaḍi Narasiṁha followed in the footsteps of his father Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. He was only a nominal ruler and the real power vested in the hands of his general Narasa Nāyaka. His period of rule extending from A.D. 1491 to 1503 is not marked by any significant contribution to Vaiṣṇavism. Kōnēṭirāja, the Governor of the territory corresponding to the present Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts, from A.D. 1488 to A.D. 1492,[46] harassed the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of Śrīraṅgam. He collected many taxes in gold and caused great suffering to the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of the temple. As a protest against the tyrannical rule of Kōnēṭirāja, two Jīyars and ēkāngis sacrificed their lives by throwing themselves from the Eastern Gōpura of the sacred street of Akaḷaṅkan. This did not move the heart of Kōnēṭirāja. So Kaṅdāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgar reported the sad affairs of the Kōyil to Narasa Nāyaka who finally proceeded to Śrīraṅgam. In the encounter that followed Kōnēṭirāja, who attacked Narasa Nāyaka with his elephant forces, was defeated and taken prisoner.[47] Then Narasa Nāyaka restored the villages of Śrīraṅgam Temple which were appropriated by others during the time of Kōnēṭirāja and remitted the additional taxes imposed by Kōnēṭirāja on the temple lands. Narasa Nāyaka provided for making jewels like Kanthamalai, Padakkam, etc., made of pearls and precious stones to Lord Śrī Raṅganātha. He also provided for one hundred servants to the temple to husk the paddy used for the naivēdya in the temple. Thus Narasa Nāyaka set right the grievances of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of Śrīraṅgam.[48] According to Kōil Olugu this event took place in A.D. 1489-90. But inscriptional evidence shows Kōnēṭirāja as having ruled upto A.D. 1492-3. This indicates that Kōnēṭirāja was deprived of his office subsequent to A.D. 1492-93 probably during Narasa's Southern Expedition in A.D. 1496.[49]

Among the officers of Immaḍi Narasiṁha who gave gifts to the Veṅkaṭēśvara Temple at Tirupati was Periya Ōbala Nāyakkar Rāma Nāyakkar (Mahānāyaṁkācārya). He made a gift of the village of Kaḍalūr situated in the Tirukkuḍavūrnāḍu in A.D. 1504. Another officer, Timana Daṇāyakar, commander of the forces at Caṅdragiri, provided for offerings for the processional image during the Pavitrōtsavam instituted by Sāḷuva Mallayadēva Mahārāja and Dōlamahōtsavam instituted by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha.[50]

The service rendered by King Kṛṣṇadēvarāya to the cause of Vaiṣṇavism and Viśiṣṭādvaita with a sense of supreme devotion and dedication is a significant facet of religious thought in the Vijayanagara period. The Indian literary tradition is to offer obeisance to the favourite deity before the commencement of the work by the poet. In the case of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, the deity happens to be the Lord of the Seven Hills, Veṅkaṭēśvara. The first verse of his Āmuktamālyada ends with the words

"Sōbhilu Veṅkaṭabharta Golcedan [51] (I worship Veṅkaṭēśvara)". Kṛṣṇadēvarāya follows up the invocation by singing the glories of Ādiśēṣa, who is the Divine Rest and Garutmanta, the Divine Mount. These invocations may be expected from even an ordinary follower of Vaiṣṇavism. But Kṛṣṇadēvarāya proceeds to seek also the blessings of Viṣvaksēna, who is Lord Viṣṇu's Commander-in-Chief, a fact which enables us to dispose of Rāghavācārya's argument that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was not a devout Vaiṣṇava on the ground that Viṣvaksēna has not been mentioned in Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's Tiruveṅgaḍam grants.[52] Kṛṣṇadēvarāya reverentially bows to the Divine Insignia, the Mighty Discus (Cakra), the Auspicious Conch (Pāñcajanya), and the Terrible Mace(Kaumōdaki).

Further, the king was not merely a worshipper of Viṣṇu, but a worshipper of the devotees of Viṣṇu as well. He enumerates the twelve Āḻvars whom he compares to the twelve Ādityas themselves, i.e., to the sons of Viṣṇu.

The constant and continuous worship of Viṣṇu by the king is proved further by the fact that Viṣṇu even appeared in his dreams.[53] In the early hours of the morning of Ekādasi, at Śrīkākulam, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya is said to have had an auspicious dream in which he received the divine command to compose a Kāvya dealing with the story of Śrī Raṅganātha's marriage with Sūḍikuḍutta Nāciyar or Gōdā Dēvī, an ardent devotee and lover of Śrī Raṅganātha.[54] He was also asked by Andhra Viṣṇu to dedicate his work to his favourite deity(Istadēvata), Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara, since there was no difference between Him and Veṅkaṭēśvara.[55] The Emperor awoke from his slumber wonder-struck, and made obeisance to the gōpura of the Andhra Viṣṇu Temple.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's special devotion to Viśiṣṭādvaita comes out in many ways. The introduction by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of the story of Khāṇḍikya and Kēsidhvaja (not to be found in the original Tamil source, the Guruparaṁpara) reveals the inner self of the Poet-Philosopher-King. Every word of it as related by Viṣṇucitta at the Pāṇḍyan court shows that the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita flowed copiously, as it were, in the veins of the King.[56]

A religious controversy must have been raging during the time of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. A topical allusion to it has been made by the King in his Āmuktamālyada through the introduction of Viṣṇucitta into the court of the Pāṇḍya King and his religious disputation with the scholars assembled there. The manner in which the author leads the discussion makes it obvious that he takes no chances and therefore the argument is heavily weighed in favour of Vaiṣṇavism and against Śaivism.[57]

The Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy as understood by him is presented by

the dialogue in the Āmuktamālyada between the King-philosopher Kēsidhvaja and his scholarly brother Khāndikya, who however is a master only of ritualistic science and not ādhyātmavidyā. Kēsidhavja speaks of higher(para) Brahman and lower (apara) Brahman. The former is formless (amūrta), unmanifest (asabda) and unexcelled. The latter has form (mūrta) and is manifest (sabda). There is no reality beyond the Para Brahman. It is the Absolute and the only means of liberation. Since the Nirguṇa Brahman is unknowable by the sense organs, mind and intellect, it is not easily realised. Even though Aparā Brahman is endowed with form and is manifest, He is not sought by the greatest and most advanced seekers of salvation, since He is conditioned and limited by the society of deities whose forms he assumes, and also characterised by the three lakṣaṇas of Brahmabhāvana, Karmōbhāvana and Brahmakarmobhayabhāvana.

The entire universe of conscious souls and unconscious matter constitutes the body of the Supreme Being or Viṣṇu. The powers of Viṣṇu are three-fold, namely, Para, Apara and Karmasakti.[58] Among these, Apara encircled by Karmasakti experiences the suffering of mortal existence, undergoing physical transformation according to the proportions of Karma. Thus the moral law of Karma is proved indispensable as an expression of the nature of the Absolute.

Th Para Brahman conceived as qualified God is known by the name of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu assumes a form which is made of Sat. It is the object of meditation by the Yōgins, the destroyer of all miseries, the root of all incarnations. Viṣṇu manifested himself as Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, etc., for the well-being of the world. A seeker of salvation should meditate on the fourfold manifestations (vyūha), Vāsudēva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha - and the Avatāras of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya makes Viṣṇucitta condemn the Sāṁkhya system which advocates the evolution of the Cosmos out of the eternal and ubiquitous Prakṛiti, on the basis of Iksyat Sūtras. The Advaitins who identify Jīva with Brahman associated with Māyā are contradicted with the help of Bhōgamātra Sūtras. He repudiates the Mīmāṁsa Philosophy by the Phalamata Sūtras. So also the other systems like Pīlupāka, Baudha, Cārvāka were condemned by Viṣṇucitta on the basis of Śāstrayōnitva, Nityōnityāna, Anupapattērṇa respectively. The details concerning the schools criticised can be filled in with the help of the Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha of Mādhavācārya. According to the Sāṁkhyas, the ultimate cause of the universe is Prakṛiti, otherwise called Pradhāna. It consists of three elements, Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, whose functions are goodness, activity and darkness. The whole process of evolution is summed up in

terms of twenty-five categories; Prakṛiti, Buddhi or Mahat, Ahaṅkāra or Egoism, five tanmātras, eleven organs of sense and action, mind being the eleventh organ of both sense and action and five gross elements. Puruṣa or the soul is the last principle. By acquisition of perfect knowledge, man can attain deliverance from pain and consequently final salvation is achieved. "Perception, inference, and the testimony of worthy persons are acknowledged to be the three-fold proof, for they comprise every mode of demonstration. It is from proof that there results belief of that which is to be proven." In other words, the Sāṅkhyas deny an Iśvara. They say there is no proof of God's existence, unperceived by the senses, not inferred from reasoning, not yet revealed. As the unintelligent milk acts for the nourishment of the calf, so nature acts for the liberation of the soul. Hence, nature and soul are dependent on each other for creation. The latter looks to nature for final bliss.[59]

This school was defeated by the Sūtra Ikṣatērnāśabdam. The argument of the Sāṅkhyas that Prakṛiti and not God is the creator, cannot be accepted. Because by the Sūtra Ikṣat, it is established that God the Almighty alone by his simple glance created the entire universe. This argument has been taken from the Śrībhāṣya. This shows that the creator can see and bringforth the universe into existence by his simple glance. This act of seeing can be done only by Caitanya but not by Jada Prakṛiti. Hence the theory of the Sāṅkhyas that Prakṛiti is the outcome of the whole flow of phenomenal order was disproved by the Ikṣat Sūtra.[60] The Advaitins regard God (Iśvara), the individual souls (jīva) and the world (jagat) as illusory appearances due to an indefinable principle called Māyā, which is neither real nor unreal, nor both, nor neither. God is Brahman associated with Māyā in its excellent aspect while Jīva is Brahman associated with Māyā in its inferior aspect. Brahman is one, eternal, pure, transcendental consciousness and is beyond the duality of subject and object, the empirical categories of space, time, substance, causality and change. The world is an appearance of Brahman and is, therefore, non-different from Brahman. Ignorance is bondage and true knowledge is liberation. Bondage is due to Avidyā which generates a sense of individuality and knowledge of difference and multiplicity. Liberation is pure intuition of knowledge of identity of the individual soul with the Brahman.[61]

The school of Śaṅkara was denounced by Viṣṇucitta with the help of Bhōgamātra Sūtra. The Advaitic contention that the liberated Jīva loses its individuality and becomes one with the Supreme God is severely criticised. The Viśiṣṭādvaitins argue that the liberated soul is absorbed in the eternal bliss of union (Sāyujya) with the Supreme Being and so the distinction between them is eternal as they never become one. The soul

does not serve God by cooperating with Him in the process of Creation, but merely shares the pleasure and enjoyment with Him.[62] The Mīmāṁsa school or Jaimini Darsana is repudiated with the help of Phalmata Sūtra. The Mīmāṁsa determines the sense of Revelation of the Vēdas, and the ascertainment of Dharma or Duty signifying sacrifices, rites, and rituals as ordained in the Vēdas. The Mīmāṁsa consists of twelve books. The Mīmāṁsakas argue that the Vēdas are not derived from any single exponent or author. They also oppose the Naiyāyikas that the Vēdas are eternal. "How can the Vēda have been uttered by the incorporeal Paramēsvara, who has no palate or other organs of speech, and therefore cannot have pronounced the letter?". So this school does not believe in the existence of God. It believes only in the efficacy of "hymns" (mantra), "explanatory passages" (arthavāda), and "injunctions" (vidhi). All souls take their birth as a result of the nature of karma or action. They suffer or enjoy as per that karma alone.[63]

Viṣṇucitta calls the Mīmāṁsakas as Apūrvavādins who do not consider God as the apportioner of the fruits of the Vēdic sacrifices. According to them, Apūrva is the mediator between the sacrifices and their fruits. Viṣṇucitta contends that all results of actions come from God only. He is omnipotent and omniscient. Karma is acētana and as such is not competent to grant immortality. In other words, when the action itself is of an impermanent nature, it cannot give permanent results.[64] It cannot be the cause of future births and deaths of souls. Kaṇabhakṣa or Kaṇada has laid down that emancipation is to be attained through the knowledge of Truth or the right understanding of the six categories. These six categories are: substance, quality, action, generality, particularity, and intimate relation. Dravya or substance is the substratum of qualities and action and the constitutive or material cause of composite things. There are nine kinds of substances, namely, Prthivi (earth), Jala (water), Tējas (fire), Vāyu (air) Ākāsa (ether), Kāla (time), Dis(space) Ātman (soul), and Manas (mind). The atoms of earth, water, fire and air are eternal, while the compounds made of them are non-eternal. Quality is connected with substance and there are twenty-four qualities. The qualities that belong to the effect are those which pertained to primary particle as its material cause. This is called Pīluvāda.

In other words, the Vaisēṣikas proved the existence of God from the inference that where there is an effect there should be a cause. The entire visible universe composed of the five elements is an effect; the cause also must be there containing the atoms of the elements. It preconceives the idea of its being created by an intelligent Being.[65]

Viṣṇucitta condemns the Vaisēṣikas on the basis of Śāstrayōnitvah.

Sāstra or Vēda is the only authority to prove the existence of God but not the other pramāṇas like Pratyakṣa, including Anumāna, admitted by the Vaisēṣikas. God is beyond perception and the pratyakṣa pramāṇa can prove the existence of only such things, which are made of five elements. God is imperceptible. Hence this pramāṇa fails to prove Him.[66] The Bauddhas advocate that all is momentary, all is pain, all is like itself alone, and all is void. Existence is declared ephemeral, substanceless and dukha. Annihilation of desire leads to emancipation or nirvāṇa.[67] The four schools of Buddhism, namely, Mādhyamika, Yōgācāra, Sautrāṇtika, and Vaibhāṣika, followed the doctrines of universal void (nihilism), an external void (subjective idealism), the inferibility of external objects (representationalism) and the perceptibility of external objects (Presentationalism).[68] The Bauddha system was defeated by Viṣṇucitta on the basis of Anupapattērṇa.[69]

Brahma, Rudra and other deities constituted the body of the Supreme Being, Viṣṇu. So the worship offered to them in the name of Viṣṇu is as good as worshipping Him. But He alone was the source of granting the desires of those who do so and there is difference between Him and the other deities. Those who worhip the deities not as part and parcel of Viṣṇu but as separate entities and ignore the nature of Vāsudēva fail to achieve everlasting fruits and undergo the cycle of births and deaths.[70] There is no other deity superior to Nārāyaṇa. According to the Śruti "Apahatapāpmā divyōdēva ēkōnārāyaṇaḥ".[71] Pratardana, the son of Divōdāsa, who lost his kingdom to Parasurāma, started doing penance and meditating on Indra to attain salvation. Whereupon Indra appeared to him and instructed Pratardana to worship Nārāyaṇa that is in him. This story shows the superiority of Nārāyaṇa. Those who desire the four-fold fruit, Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Mōkṣa, worship the deities but a yōgi who desires salvation worships Nārāyaṇa only.[72]

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya introduces the story of Yāmunācārya,[73] which has absolutely no relation with the theme of the Āmuktamālyada, to act as a supporting pillar to the magnificent structure of his faith, Vaiṣṇavism. The story of Yāmunācārya, the grandson of Nāthamuni, one of the great expounders of Visiṣṭādvaita is said to have been related to Lakṣmī by the Vaṭapatrasāyi of Śrī Villiputtūr. The triumph of Yāmunācārya over Saivites, in the court of the Pāṇḍyan King, is a personal triumph of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya over the other systems of philosophy. Yāmunācārya is instrumental in the establishment of the supremacy of Visiṣṭādvaita.[74]

The story of Māladāsari, an unoutchable but a great devotee of Hari, proves that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya has assigned a very high place to Viṣṇubhakti.[75] The blind devotion of Māladāsari was able to confer Brahminhood

on Sōmaśarma who had been converted into a Brahmarākṣasa (demon) because of his sinful acts.

The Manu Cartiramu throws additional light on the devotion of the king to Veṅkaṭēśvara. Peddana occupied a supreme position among the Eight poets (Aṣṭadiggajas) in the court of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Although he himself invokes the blessings of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahma and Vināyaka, for the success of his work, he seeks the blessings of Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara for the welfare of the king, which clearly shows that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was a special devotee of the Lord of the Seven Hills. Peddana described him "as greatly devoted to the lotus feet of Veṅkaṭa Calapati".[76] The Pārijātāpaharaṇamu, another literary work composed in Telugu by Naṅdi Timmana, one of the Aṣṭadiggajas, supports the fact that the Emperor was a devotee of Veṅkaṭēśvara. The blessings of Viṣṇu, adorned with the Vaijayaṅti garland and bearing Lakṣmī on His chest, were invoked for the success of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya at the beginning of the work.[77]

The fourth chapter starts with a description of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya thus:

Śrīveṅkaṭagiri vallabha

sēvāpara taṅtrahṛidaya[78]

It was also stated that his vast empire with the four oceans for its boundaries was a boon for his devotion to Viṣṇu.

The loyalty of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya to Vaiṣṇava Darśana is reflected not only in the literature of the period, but also in his daily life and activities. He patronised the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas like Tātācārya, whom he accepted as his spiritual guru and adviser. Tātācārya was granted the village of Pālūr as sarvamānya agrahāra.[79] This famous Śrīvaiṣṇava is believed to have displaced Gōviṅda Dēśika who acted as the royal preceptor for Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.[80] The prominent Śrīvaiṣṇava temples of the period that received the maximum attention and patronage of the King were the Śrī Raṅganāthasvāmi temple of Śrīraṅgam and the Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara temple of Tirumala. Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara of Tirumala was the patron deity of the King.[81]

Certain Nāyaka Chiefs also were followers of Vaiṣṇavism as evidenced from their numerous gifts to the Vaiṣṇava temples, especially to the Veṅkaṭēśvara and Gōviṅdarāja temples at Tirumala and Tirupati.[82]

Acyuta was a staunch follower of Vaiṣṇavism. Though he was not a poet like Kṛṣṇadēvarāya to express his devotion to Viṣṇu, he was responsible for the dedication of one poem in Telugu every year to Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara.[83] It is stated that Acyuta directed the poet Rājanātha

Kavi to compose a poem embodying the story of Viṣṇu. Accordingly Rājanātha composed the Campū Bhāgavata. He believed that he got his son Cina Veṅkaṭādri by the grace of the God of Veṅkaṭādri or Lord Veṅkaṭēsvara of Tirupati. It is but natural that Tirumalāmba, the authoress of Varadāmbīkā Pariṇayam, invoked the blessings of Lord Veṅkaṭēsa for the prosperity of her patron Acyuta, his queen Varadāmba and the prince Veṅkaṭādri.[84]

Immediately after his release from confinement in the fort at Caṅdragiri where he was a virtual prisoner, Acyutarāya was crowned king at Tirumala where he was bathed in the water poured out of the conch in the hand of the God Veṅkaṭesa in A.D. 1529.[85]

Like Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, Acyuta visited the Veṅkaṭēsvara temple at Tirumala. His first visit took place in A.D. 1533 accompanied by his queen Varadāji Amman and his son Kumāra Veṅkaṭādri, when he presented a big kaphā strewn with pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds, four Bāhuvalayam, a pair of ornaments set with gems for the head, a kūṭṭam decked with emeralds, long string of pearls and various other jewels. On this occasion he himself performed the Arcanā for Srī Veṅkaṭēsvara while the Arcaka recited the Śrīnivāsa Sahasranāma or the 1000 appellations of God.[86] This is the only instance in the history of the temple of a layman performing the arcana. The desire to do it himself must be attributed to the belief of Acyutarāya that he was chosen by God and consecrated with the waters from his hand for the throne and was therefore spiritually fit to perform the arcana in person.[87]

From Acyuta's records dated A.D. 1535[88] it is clear that he instituted two new festivals, Lakṣmīdēvī Mahōtsvam and the Punarvasu Tirunāl, in the Veṅkaṭēsvara temple towards the expenses of which he granted to the temple a portion of the income from the villages situated in the Koṅḍavīḍu Sīma. Though there is no definite evidence mentioning the presence of the King at Tirupati the presence of the inscriptions of his subordinates, namely, Rāma Bhaṭṭarāyan, Rāyasam Rāmacaṅdra Dīkṣita, Malaiyapparayyan and others show that the King, accompanied by his officers, paid a visit to the temple to offer his thankful prayer to Lord Veṅkaṭēsvara after his invasion of the Raicur Doab in A.D. 1535.[89] Acyuta's third visit in A.D. 1537 followed his capture of Gutti.[90] Some of his officers, Bācarasayya, Rāma Bhaṭlu, Aḍaippam Visvanātha Nāyaka, and Sālakarāja Siṅgarāja, who accompanied him, made some gifts for the propitiation of the deity.[91]

In A.D. 1531, Acyutarāya provided the Kapilatīrtham at Tirupati with steps of granite and also constructed Saṅdhyāvaṅdana Maṇṭapams on the east and the west sides of the pond. Stones bearing the marks of the

discus of Viṣṇu (Sudarśana Śila) were planted at the four corners. He changed the name of Kapilatīrtham to Cakratīrtham denoting its greater proximity to God Viṣṇu.[92] Acyuta consecrated a temple for Acyuta Perumāḷ at Tirupati and developed an agrahāram of 120 houses round the temple. For daily worship of this Perumāḷ, he granted the village of Parittiputtūr.[93] The exact date of the consecration of the temple is not known.

Varadājidēvī Amman, queen of Acyutarāya, followed her husband's religiousfaith. In A.D. 1534 she donated six villages to the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala towards the expenses in connection with an offering in her name to be made after the offerings instituted in the name of her husband and Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.[94]

The large grants to the Varadarāja temple at Kañci by Acyuta prove that He was the Iṣṭadēvata of the King. God Varadarāja occupied a superior place in the heart of Acyuta. In A.D. 1529, the year of his coronation, Acyuta gave 14 villages for the big special offering to God Varadarāja of Kañci.[95] Probably he sought the blessings of the God for the prosperity of his kingdom. After three years in 1532, he performed the Tulābhāra of pearls when he visited Kañci with his wife Varadādēvī and son Kumāra Veṅkaṭādri Uḍayar. He also made a gift of 1000 cows and presented the Divine Insignia, the conch, discus, Abhaya Hasta and a Vaiṣṇava forehead mark, all set with jewels;[96] and assigned the income of villages to the temple.[97]

The interest of the king in the cause of Vaiṣṇavism is reflected in many ways. He made architectural additions to the existing temples, consecrated idols and remitted taxes due to the King in favour of the Vaiṣṇava temples ad libitum. In A.D. 1532 Acyutarāya granted house sites to the servants connected with the Trivikrama temple at Tirukkōyiḷūr.[98] After one year, viz., in A.D. 1534, Acyuta made a gift of land with a house in the presence of Viṭṭhalēśvara to two Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brahmanas who recited the Purāṇam Bhakti Sañjīvini in the Narasiṁha Perumāḷ temple at Narasiṅgāpuram.[99] In A.D. 1536 he got a sixteen pillared maṇḍapa built in the Śrīraṅgam temple as the four pillared maṇḍapa was found insufficient to accommodate devotees on the festival days. This is known as the Acyutarāya maṇḍapam.[100] The consecration of the image of Tillai Gōviṅdarāja Perumāḷ by Acyutarāya was an important event of his reign. He set up the image of God Tillai Gōviṅdarāja Perumāḷ in A.D. 1539 at Cidaṁbaram, a famous Śaiva Kṣētra, according to the ritual of Vaikhānasa Sūtra and granted 500 poṇ for the maintenance of daily worship of the idol.[101]

Judging from the valuable gifts of villages and jewels to Vaiṣṇava

temples, his frequent visits to and performance of works of piety at Tirumala and Tirupati, it may be concluded that Acyuta's personal faith from the very beginning of his reign was Vaiṣṇavism. There are interesting stories regarding the devotion of Acyutarāya to Lord Veṅkaṭēsvara. The Tāraka Brahma Rājīyam gives the following information. One day, Nanjarasu Timma of the military stores department held a durbar at his residence which was largely attended by learned men, poets, songsters and dancing women of the capital. The story continues:"At that time, he (the minister) told me (the author) that his master Acyutarāya was accustomed to offer every year to God Veṅkaṭēsvara a handful of flowers with a beautiful Kāvyaprabaṅdha and was thereby acquiring merit and glory. By the Rāya's command he requested me to compose a religious poetical work and dedicate it to his favourite deity Śrī Rāma so that prosperity and the four kinds of Purusārthas might accrue to him as well as his master."[102]

The officers and chiefs of Acyuta extended their benefactions to the Vaiṣṇava temples for the merit or welfare of the king. In A.D. 1530 Rāyaṇa Nāyaka, who styled himself the King's son, gave to the God Kīrti Nārāyaṇa of Talakād the village of Māyaṇṇapura.[103] Similar grants were made to the temple of Tiruveṅgaḷanātha at Iṅjēḍu by Rāmappaṅgāru, son of Bācarasyya, the governor of Guddalūru Sīma, for offerings in A.D. 1533[104] and to the great God of Gods, Tirumalanātha of Kuḍugalūr, known as Terkanaṁbi by Sōmasiladēva Rauttarāya Mahāpātrearasu, in A.D. 1536.[105] Similarly in A.D. 1542 a gift of taxes amounting to 1,200 poṇ, due to the palace was made to the temple of Kaḷḷaḷagar at Aḷagar Kōyil for offerings to the deity. This was for the merit of Acyutarāya, Queen Varadarāja Amman and Prince Cikkadēva Mahārāya.[106]

According to Father Heras " the greatest achievement of Acyuta so far as the propagation of Vaiṣṇavism is concerned was the foundation of Nāyakship of Madura. The final settlement of Visvanātha and his successors as rulers of the Pāṅḍya kingdom naturally marked the commencement of a flourishing period of Vaiṣṇavism in the Southern Dominions."[107] According to one account, during the time of Acyutarāya, Nāgama Nāyaka was sent by the King to punish Vīrasēkhara Cōḷa who conquered the kingdom of the Pāṅḍya King Caṅdrasēkhara. The latter appealed to the Rāya for help and the Rāya deputed one General Nāgama Nāyaka to suppress the rebellion of Vīrasēkhara Cōḷa. Nāgama acted according to the orders of Rāya but instead of restoring the Pāṅḍyan territory to its owner, acquired the kingdom for himself and set up independent rule. Thereupon Acyutarāya, faced with a new problem, despatched Nāgama Nāyaka's own son Visvanātha Nāyaka

against his father to check his progress. Viśvanātha defeated him and captured him alive. In appreciation of his prabhu bhakti, Acyutarāya bestowed the Pāṅḍyan kingdom and ordained him to rule at Madura. Thus he came to be the founder of the Nāyak Dynasty of Madura.[108]

The Kaifīyat of Karṇāṭa Kōṭikam kings gives an altogether different story ascribing the origin of the Nāyak kingdom to the benevolence of a Śiva Yōgi. This story says that the Rāya, whose name is not mentioned, and his minister, probaby Nāgama Nāyaka, were directed by the God Viśvēśa of Benares to become the disciples of the Yōgi Śrīkaṇṭhākāśavāsi of the Kulaśēkhara Pīṭha for obtaining progeny. The Rāya who begot a son with the blessings of the Yōgi was pleased and conferred the Pāṅḍyan territory on the Yōgi as gurudakṣina. But the Yōgi, who had no love for worldly things, gave it to Nāgama Nāyak's son Viśvanātha who inaugurated the new dynasty of the Madura Nāyaks.[109] The internal evidence of the Kaifīyat of Karnāṭa Kōṭikam kings show that Viśvanātha was originally a Śaiva. Acyuta being a staunch Vaiṣṇava would not have encouraged Viśvanātha to set up a new kingdom which meant a new life to Śaivism.

Granting that Acyuta conferred on Viśvanātha the kingship of the Pāṅḍya Maṅḍalam, as Father Heras believes, it is possible that Viśvanātha changed his faith to Vaiṣṇavism to suit the exigencies. According to the Kaifīyat of Karnaṭa Kōṭikam kings, "Acyutadēva Mahārāya formally crowned Viśvanātha Nāyadu of the Garikepāṭi family of the Balija caste as the King of Pāṅḍya Country yielding a revenue of 2 1/2 crores of Varāhas; and he presented him with golden idols of Durgā, Lakṣmī and Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa and sent him with ministers, councillors and troops to the South. Viśvanātha Nāyaḍu reached the city of Madhura, from which he began to govern the country entrusted to his care."[110] The Śrīraṅgam Kōil Ōlugu records that Viśvanātha gifted to God Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam several golden vessels, costly ornaments and pieces of land worth three lakhs of poṇs.[111]

The Salaka Chiefs who gained prominence during the reign of Acyuta contributed to the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism. The two famous brothers, Salakarāja Periya Tirumalarāja, and Salakarāja Śiru Tirumalarāja who led the campaign against the Tiruvaḍi Rājya, were the sons of Salakarāja, identical with Mahāmaṅḍalēśvara Timmarāja Salakarāja.[112] Peda Tirumala and Cina Tirumala were both devotees of Viṣṇu and gave innumerable grants to the Veṅkaṭēśvara as well as other Vaiṣṇava temples. Peda Tirumala constructed a temple for Tiruveṅgaḷanātha on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra river and presented jewels set with nine kinds of gems, a golden staff, vessels and a village in the Malayaḷa Country.[113] His

younger brother Cina Tirumala was specially devoted to God Maṅḍem Narasiṁhadēva who manifested himself in a field near Dharmavaram. Tirumala granted the village of Mallapanāyanipalle, which he had founded, to God Narasiṁha, for the merit of his father Salakarāja and his mother Tippājamma in A.D. 1533.[114] In A.D. 1539, Akkacci Amman, sister of Periya Tirumaladēva Mahārāja, presented garments, pillows studded with pearls and silk garments embroidered with gold letters for decoration when Lord Śrīraṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam was taken out in palanquin.[115] Kommaman, queen of Tirumaladēva, appears to be a follower of the same Guru.[116]

The brothers made some gifts to the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala. Siru Tirumala constructed Varadāji amman angana tiruvīdhi in the West Māḍa street at Tirumala in A.D. 1541 for the merit of Varadāji Amman, the wife of Acyutarāya.[117] Tatukōṇamman, queen of Periya Tirumalarāja, donated 150 varaha to the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple for a daily offering in A.D. 1536.[118] In A.D. 1537, Siṅgarāja, a younger brother of Periya Tirumala, provided for offerings to the processional image at his maṇṭapam built on the bank of Acyutarāya Kōnēri at Tirumala during festivals.[119]

In addition to his family members, Rāyasam Rāmacaṅdra Dīkṣita, son of Nāgara Bhaṭṭar, one of the prominent royal officers, figures among the devotees of Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara. He built a Maṇṭapam on the bank of the Acyutarāya Kōnēri at Tirumala and in A.D. 1533 he granted the village of Tāmaraipākkam for the daily propitiation of Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara and the Utsavamūrti on certain festive occasions.[120] In the same year he made another provision for offerings to Veṅkaṭēśvara and the processional image and His consorts on the days of the star Rōhiṇi occurring each month, under whose ascendancy he was born.[121] Rāmacaṅdra accompanied King Acyutarāya on his second visit to Tirumala in A.D. 1535 when he made a gift to the god.[122]

Vaiṣṇavism gained a stronger hold during the later half of sixteenth century commencing with the reign of Sadāsivarāya. Sadāsivarāya, the de jure king, and Aḷiya Rāmarāja, the de facto ruler, were both ardent followers of Vaiṣṇavism. The British Museum plates of Sadāsivarāya describe him as Haribhakti Sudhānidhi.[123] The plates record a grant by him of thirty-one villages to the Rāmānuja shrine at Śrīperuṁbūdūr, to enable the Vaiṣṇava devotees to carry on the regular and incidental worship of Viṣṇu with incense, lights, oblations of food, flowers, dancing, singing, music, umbrellas, etc. Provision was also made for the distribution of food to the Vaiṣṇava, twice-born and their families at the extensive hall of the holy Rāmānuja constructed here.[124] Sadāsivarāya

presented two hundred bulls for the services in the temples of Tirumala-Tirupati and the Nammāḷvār's Rāmānujakūṭams at Tirupati.[125] The Yasyanūr copper-plate grant of Sadāsivarāya contains a verse in adoration of the Vaiṣṇava leader Rāmānuja.[126]

Sadāsivarāya made two visits to Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala. On the auspicious occasion of the Makara Saṅkramam in the year A.D. 1553 he made a Sarvamānya gift of taxes to the Nammāḷvār Rāmānujakūṭam at Tirupati built by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Āravīḍu Koṇḍarāja, son of Āravīḍu Rāmarāja Kōnēṭi Ayyan.[127]

It is interesting to note that Sadāsivarāya did not make many costly gifts to the Vaiṣṇava temples. His gifts were few and not lavish unlike his predecessors who embellished the temples with rich gifts. Probably this was due to the fact that his authority was only nominal, the substance of power having been appropriated by the regent and commander Rāmarāja. However, the large gift of thirty-one villages to the Rāmānuja shrine at Śrīperumbūdūr is sufficient evidence of Sadāsivarāya's devotion to Viṣṇu.

Aḷiya Rāmarāja who represented the Āravīḍu family and who was responsible for the installation of Sadāsivarāya on the Vijayanagara throne played a very prominent role in promoting the cause of Vaiṣṇavism. Rāmarāja was the foremost among the devotees of Viṣṇu.[128] In A.D. 1545 Rāmarāja granted Pudupaṭṭu for the purpose of conducting Mukkōṭi Dvādasi festival, daily worship and other services to the Veṅkaṭēśvara and the Gōviṅdarāja temples at Tirumala and Tirupati for the merit of the emperor Sadāsivarāya.[129] He granted four villages for a daily offering in his own name as Mudal Prasādam or first offering to Veṅkaṭēśvara. He also arranged that the donor's quarter share of the offered prasādam should be handed over to the Nammāḷvār's Rāmānujakūṭam established at Tirupati for feeding the Śrī Vaiṣṇava devotees.[130]

The Āravīḍu chiefs were followers of Vaiṣṇavism and gave innumerable grants to the Vaiṣṇava temples. Koṇḍarāja of the Āravīḍu family is described as Haribhaktānukaṁ pinā Kamalāvallabhās (r) aṁ takai (m) Karyāsakta- Cetasa.[131] Tirumalarāja or Tirumalayyadēva Mahārāja, the son of Āravīḍu Bukkarāja Rāmarāja Śrīraṅgarāja and the younger brother of Aḷiya Rāmarāja, constructed an Uñjalmaṇṭapam within the Saṁpaṅgi Pradakṣiṇam (corridor round the inner Prākāra wall containing the Dhvajastham bham) in the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala and arranged for the propitiation of the processional deities on festive occasions.[132] This must be the one that is now known as the Tirumalarāya Maṇṭapam, situated to the south of the Dhvajastham bham

within the Saṁpaṅgi Pradakṣiṇam at its south-east corner. In addition to the gifts made to the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala the Āravīḍu chiefs showed their devotion to Viṣṇu by patronising other Vaiṣṇava temples. Their patron deity appears to be Kēśava, another form of Viṣṇu. This is known from their gifts to the temples dedicated to Cenna Kēśava at different places in the empire. The Cenna Kēśava Perumāl temples at Saṁ baṭūru alias Śrī Bhāṣyapuram,[133] Niṭṭūru,[134] Eṛagudipāḍu,[135] Koḍūru,[136] Guṇṭakallu[137] and Mōyiḷḷa Ceruvu[138] enjoyed the patronage of the chiefs. Interesting light is thrown on how the privileged position of the Kēśava form of Viṣṇu is envied and attempt was made to change the name of Cenna Kēśava. A record belonging to the reign of Sadāśivarāya states that Lord Viṣṇu commanded Niṁgappa and Caṅgamma of Cuppali that He should be propitiated under the name Lakṣmīnārāyaṇasvāmi instead of Cenna Kēśava. Accordingly the persons named above came to Saṁbaṭūru from Ghaṇḍikōṭa, assembled the Ācārya Puruṣas and Brahmans and in their presence renamed the God as Lakṣmīnārāyaṇasvāmi.[139]

Vaiṣṇava Families

Some Vaiṣṇava families like the Tātācāryas, the Tāḷḷapākams, the Bhaṭṭars, and the Kaṇḍāḍais propagated the Vaiṣṇava faith in the Vijayanagara Empire and were responsible for admitting into its fold the non-Brahman communities like the Śāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas.

Tātācāryas

The Tātācāryas, the descendants of Śrīśailapūrṇa alias Periya Tirumala Naṁbi, the maternal uncle of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava leader Rāmānuja, are found among the Vaḍagalais and Teṅgalais alike, the majority of them belonging to the Vaḍagalai sect. It is said that the Teṅgalai Tātācāryas are not favourably inclined towards the Vaḍagalai Tātācāryas and hence avoid the Tātācārya appellation.

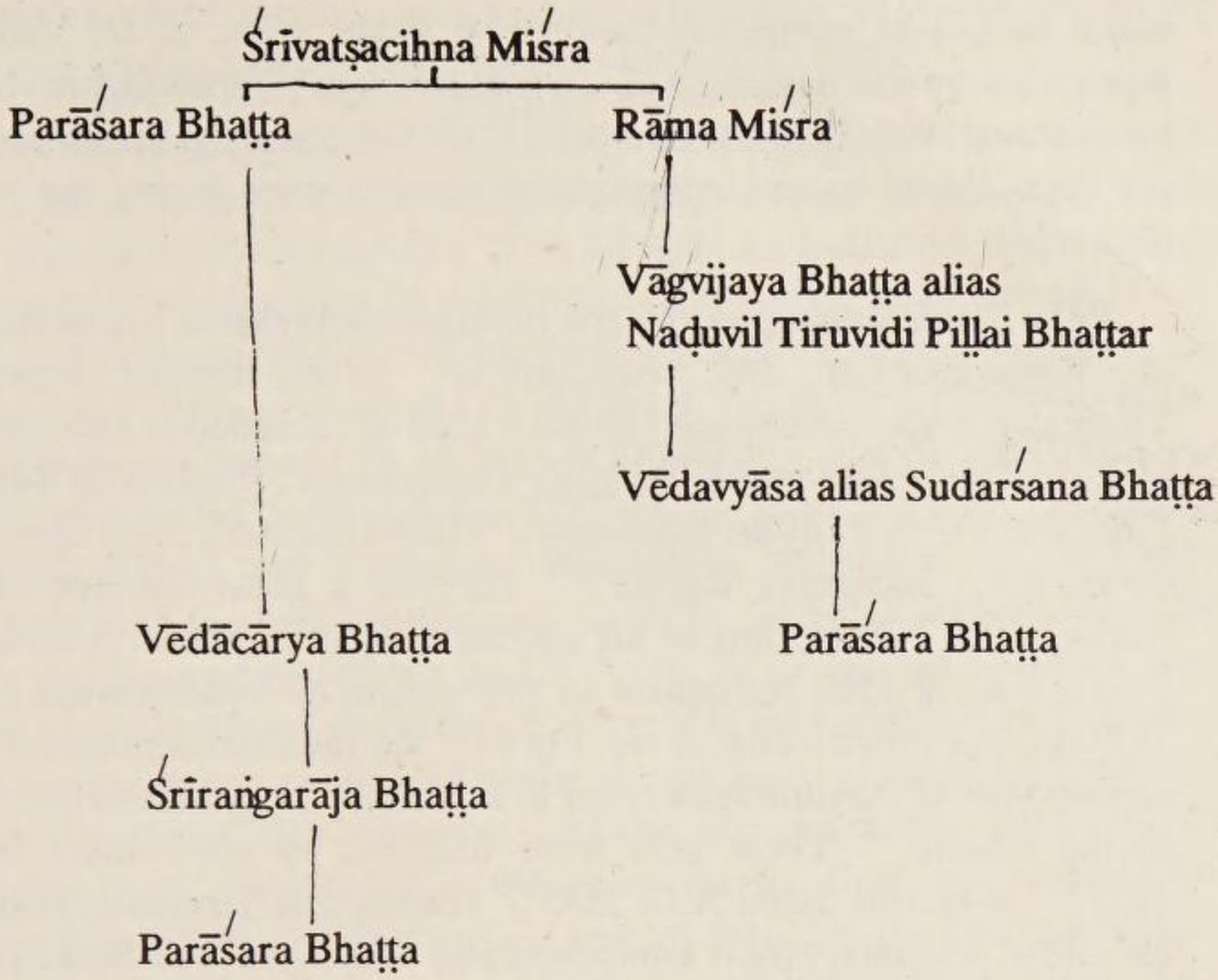
According to Prapannāmṛtam, the brothers Narasiṁhācārya and Śrīraṅgācārya from Eṭṭūr migrated to Vijayanagara and were supposed to have converted the ruler Virūpākṣa II to Vaiṣṇavism. Subsequently, having obtained the favour of Virūpākṣa, they settled for a comfortable living in Vijayanagara. The descendants of these early settlers and Vaiṣṇava leaders are known from the contemporary epigraphical records ranging roughly from the reign of Mallikārjuna upto the period of Śrīraṅga II, namely, from A.D. 1446 to A.D. 1630. Soṭṭai Tirumalai Naṁbi Tiruveṅkaṭa Tātayyaṅgar, his sons Tōḷappācārya or Tōḷappa Ayyaṅgar and Kumāra Tātayyaṅgar figure as prominent Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas of the time residing at Tirupati.[140] They belonged to Saṭhamarṣana gōtra and

Āpastamba sūtra. Kumāra Tātayyaṅgar was the spiritual guru of Śrīmān Nṛiṣiṁha Rāja and his brother Kēsaya Nāyaka, subordinate officers of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha.[141] Tōḷappācārya's son Aiyāvayyaṅgar or Eṭṭūr Tirumalai Kuṁbhakōṇam Tātacarya Ayyāvayyaṅgar[142] was identified with Pañcamatabhanjanam Tātācārya and Kōṭikanyakādānam Tātācārya.[143] His son Kumāra Tātācārya, described as Śrīmad Vēdamārga Pratiṣṭāpaṇācārya and Ubhaya Vēdāntācārya, granted four villages to the Veṅkaṭēsvara temple at Tirupati in A.D. 1583.[144] Kumāra Tātācārya who figures in inscriptions from Kañci dated A.D. 1575 and A.D. 1630[145] was credited with the construction of a vimāna at Tirupati. He also repaired and rebuilt the Puṇyakōtivimāna which was originally erected by Kṛṣṇarāya and which had become dilapidated and also erected the Kalyāṇakōti vimāna and had it covered with gold.[146] As the spiritual Guru of Veṅkaṭapatirāya II, Tātācārya officiated at his coronation.

Kumāra Tātayyaṅgar's son Śrīnivāsayyaṅgar[147] figures as the donor of a village Periya Ekkalūr to the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala in A.D. 1547. This village was originally granted to him by Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya. Kumāra Tātayyaṅgar had another son, Tirumalai Tātayyaṅgar, who was the Ācārya of Siṅgarāja, son of Salakayyadēva Mahārāya.[148]

Bhaṭṭars

The Bhaṭṭars of Śrīraṅgam were another Vaiṣṇava family which rendered notable service to the cause of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. The progenitor of the family of Bhaṭṭars was Śrī Vatsacihna Miśra alias Kūraṭṭālvan, the first disciple of Rāmānuja.[149] According to Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition, it was Śrī Vatsacihna Miśra, who saved the Viśiṣṭādvaita leader, Rāmānuja, from the wrath of the Cōḷa sovereign, who was a bigoted Śaiva.[150] He was the author of the Varadarāja stava, Sundarbāhu stava, Atimānusyastava, Śrīvaikuṇṭha stava, Śrīstava, Yamakaratnākara and Gadyatraya Vyākhyāna. The Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka[151] furnish the following geneology of the Bhaṭṭars of Śrīraṅgam.



According to the Śrīraṅgam plates, Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, the seventh in descent from Śrī Vatsacihna, who was probably identical with Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, the son of Śrīraṅgarāja Bhaṭṭa andthe grandson of Vēdācārya Bhaṭṭa, received a gift of the village Koṭṭāllaparṟu from Mummaḍi Nāyaka, the king of the Teliṅga country.[152] The Bhaṭṭars belonged to the vaḍama sect like the Tātācāryas of Tirumala.

Tāḷḷapākam poets

The Tāḷḷapākam family of musician–poets who flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries popularised the cult of Bhakti or devotion of Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara of Tirumala. The Tāḷḷapākam poets were Smārta Telugu Brahmans of the Naṅdavarīka sect and belonged to the Bhāradvāja Gōtra, Āsvalāyana Sūtra and Rik- Śākhā.[153] They were ardent Vaiṣṇavites who inculcated Bhakti and adoration of Tiruveṅkaṭapati, i.e., Śrī Veṅkaṭēsa. The musical compositions of these poets are preserved on copper plates in a small room in the temple of Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala. Among them the most valuable are Adhyātma Saṅkīrtanalu and Śriṅgāra Saṅkīrtanalu and Śriṅgāra Mañjari. According to the prologues of the first two works, Tāḷḷapāka Annamācārya, the earliest member of the family received divine inspiration in A.D. 1424 and hence he started composing the first two works and his work continued untill the 12th day of the dark fortnight of Phalguṇa in Saka 1424 of the year Dundubhi corresponding to 23rd Feburary, 1503 A.D. during

which period he composed Saṅkīrtanas in the name of Śrī Veṅkaṭēśa. Annamācārya was described as "Saṅkīrtanācārya", "Drāviḍāgama Sārvabhauma" and "Pañcāgama Cakravati".[154] Unfortunately Annamācārya was not represented by any epigraphical records even during the reign of Kṛṣṇarāya.

Peda Tirumalayyaṅgar, the son of Annamācārya,was a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and Acyutarāya. The literary activity of Tirumalayyaṅgar commenced in A.D. 1503 as recorded in the preface to his "Śrīṅgāra Saṅkīrtanalu," "Śrīṅgāra Daṅḍakamu", "Cakravāḷa Mañjari", "Śrīṅgāra Vritta Padyāla Śatakamu", "Udāharaṇamu", "Nīti Śīsa Padya Śatakamu", "Sudarśana Ragaḷa".[155] He was a great devotee of Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara. According to his earliest inscription dated A.D. 1517 he paid a sum of 1500 Naṛpaṇam to the temple of Veṅkaṭēśvara in A.D. 1517 for the propitiation of the Lord.[156] At the commencement of the second year of Acyutarāya's reign in A.D. 1530 he granted four villages to the temple.[157] These gifts were followed by some more in A.D. 1532.[158] A record dated A.D. 1535[159] relates that Tirumalayyaṅgar and his father Annamayyaṅgar composed and dedicated their Saṅkīrtanas to Tambirān God Veṅkaṭēśa for the salvation of the world, renovated the stone steps of the ancient holy tank Svāmi Puṣkariṇi, constructed the Nirāḷi Maṇṭapam, the prākāra walls and the gōpuram of Śrī Varāhasvāmi's shrine, and the Maṇṭapams adjoining these prākāra walls at Tirumala. Tirumalayyaṅgar [160] inaugurated a festival called Vanabhōjanam to be conducted in the month of Kārtīka at Tirumalai for Śrī Vaiṣṇavas in A.D. 1537.[161] In A.D. 1541, he authorised that some cash remuneration should be paid to the Śrīvaiṣṇavas in charge of the Saṅkīrtana- Bhaṅḍāram in which the copper plates of Saṅkīrtanas of the Tāḷḷapākam poets are preserved.[162]

Tirumalayyaṅgar brought into the fold of his disciples certain members of the Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇava community. His disciple Śrī Palipaṭṭarāyan is stated to be the son of Narasayan of the Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇava community, which inhabited a part of Tirupati known as Kulaśēkharapuram.[163] An inscription on the right door jamb wall of the entrance of Śrī Kalyāṇa Veṅkaṭēśa Svāmi temple at Maṅgāpuram dated A.D. 1540 describes Peda Tirumalayyaṅgār as Vēdamārga Pratistācārya, Śrī Rāmānuja Siddhānta Sthāpanācārya,Śrī Vēdāntācārya, Kavitārkika Kēsari and Śaranāgatavajra- paṅjara.[164] As a true devotee of Lord Viṣṇu, Tirumalayyaṅgar is known to have personally made gifts to the temple of Viṭṭalēśvara at Haṁpi in 1531 A.D.[165] He was also instrumental in restoring the grant of the village Āṅḍupūru to the Viṣṇu temple at Naṅdalūr in the Cuddapah District by Rāma Bhaṭlayya, the Governor of Udayagiri, with the permission of King Acyutarāya in A.D. 1534.[166] Periya

Tirumalayyaṅgar and his son Śiru Tirumalayyaṅgar provided for certain offerings for God Aruḷāḷ Perumāḷ at Kaṅci in A.D. 1533.[167]

Śiru Tirumalayyaṅgar or Cinna Tirumalayyaṅgar followed the example of his father Peda Tirumalācārya and adopted the Vaiṣṇava tenets and popularised Vaiṣṇavism. In A.D. 1547 he instituted the marriage festival of Gōviṅdarāja to be celebrated for five days in the month of Cittirai, and endowed half the village Neḍiyam with an annual income of 150 rēkhai poṇ.[168] He renovated the temple of Kalyāṇa Veṅkaṭēśvara in the Maṅgāpuram village in the vicinity of Tirupati[169] and set up new images of the deities, Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara, Nāciyār, Anaṅta, Garuḍa, Viṣvaksēna, Perumāḷ, Āḻvars and Uḍaiyavar, Pūrvācāryas as well as Annamācārya and provided for evening offerings to them. He also arranged that the birth asterisms of the Āḻvars and Ācāryas for all the twenty-seven stars from Asvini to Rēvati should be celebrated in the temple. This consecration ceremony was conducted under the guidance of Ācāryas, Jīyars and other prominent Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and the document was drawn up by Yatirāja Jīyar, the disciple of Aḷagiyamanavāḷa Jīyar and head of the Pēraruḷāḷan Maṭham. The earliest record available for Tiruveṅkaṭayyan alias Tiruveṅgaḷappan, son of Cinna Tirumalayyaṅgar, is dated A.D. 1547.[170] In A.D. 1554 he granted Dēvarāyapalli village with an annual income of 470 rēkhaipon for offerings in the Veṅkaṭēśvara and Gōviṅdarāja temples at Tirumala and Tirupati.[171] He also made gifts to the Aruḷāḷ Perumāḷ temple at Little Conjeevaram.[172] He was the author of a commentary on Amara Simha's Nāmaliṅgānusāsana or Amara, called Bālaprabōdhika.[173]

Peda Tirumalayyaṅgar's younger son Tiruveṅkaṭanāthar alias Cinnanna, figures in a record dated A.D. 1546 as the donor of two villages of Sendalūru and Mallavaram situated in Koṇḍavīḍu-Sīmai towards the expenses of the marriage festival of Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara.[174] This village Mallavaram was granted by King Sadāsivarāya to Cinnanna, son of Tāḷḷapāka Tirumalayyaṅgar, in A.D. 1545.[175] This Cinnanna alias Tiruveṅkaṭanāthar was the author of Paramayōgivilāsamu dedicated to Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara and his consort Alamēlumaṅga and Aṣṭamahiṣīkalyāṇam dedicated to Alamēlumaṅga alone.

TĀḶḶAPĀKAM POETS AND VAIṢṆAVISM

Poets belonging to the Tāḷḷapākam family were staunch Vaiṣṇavas who popularised the Vaiṣṇava faith by, inter alia, composing saṅkīrtanas or musical compositions, singing the glories of Lord Viṣṇu. These poets were particularly devoted to Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara of Tirumala, whom they

believed to be the Arcā form of Lord Viṣṇu. In fact, the great popularity which the Veṅkaṭēsvara cult enjoyed during the period under review was largely due to the dedicated efforts of the Tāḷḷapākam poets.

Annamācārya was the earliest and the most prolific of the Tāḷḷapākam poets. He composed thousands of Saṅkīrtanas of both the Adhyātma and Śṛṅgāra types. The themes chosen by the poets of this family for their musical compositions were wide and varied. The selections, however, were all made with the object of instilling deep into the religious consciousness of the populace the superiority of the Vaiṣṇava faith and the ease with which inestimable merit could be acquired by adherence to that faith. Among the themes chosen by them mention may be made of the following:

Significance of the Daśāvatāras, the ten incarnations, assumed by Lord Viṣṇu to rescue mankind from different kinds of scourges which afflicted them in different ages.[176]

Sanctity of the Pañcāyudhas-the conch, the disc, the club, the sword and the bow, used by the Lord in accomplishing his missions in the different Avatāras.

Stories of devotees of Viṣṇu who, by the grace of the Lord, attained worlds far above those of gods like Brahma,legends contained in the Mahābhārata, the Bhāgavata and the Harivaṁsa Purāṇa.[177]

Merit accruing from worshipping the Lord's Abhayahasta[178] and sanctity of water which had been used to wash the feet of the Lord and which could heal the souls of men stricken with the malady of Karma.[179]

Different kinds of Bhakti or devotion for obtaining happiness in this life as well as in the life beyond, enumerated and extolled in ancient works like the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and the Bhaktisūtras of Nārada and Śāṅdilya-Bhaktis like Śravaṇa (listening to stories or songs in praise of the Lord);[180] Saṅkīrtana (singing the glories of the Lord);[181] Smaraṇa (meditation);[182] pāda-sēva (worshipping the holy feet of the Lord);[183] Arcanā (offering different kinds of service); Vaṅdana (bowing to the Lord in prayer);[184] Dāsya (serving the deity in many different ways);[185] Dāsa-dāsya (serving the devotees of the Lord);[186] Sakhya (devotion based on friendship, like that of Nārada to Nārāyaṇa); Unmāda(fanatical devotion to the Lord); Pativrata (not to worship other gods); Vijñāna (devotion with an understanding of the soul); Rākṣasa (devotion through chivalrous exploits); Tamasa (devotion with a mundane purpose); Vairāgya (devotion in a spirit of self-renunciation); Rājasa (dignified or undemonstrative devotion with a definite objective); Nirmala (devotion in a spirit of self surrender);[187] Vātsalya (devotion with affection, like that

of Dēvakī for Kṛṣṇa);[188] Kānta (devotion with love, like that of Rukmiṇī for Kṛṣṇa); as a matter of fact, all the Śṛṅgāra saṅkīrtanas of the Tāḷḷapākam poets portray the Kāntaśakti or Nāyaki-bhāva); Parama-viraha (devotion stemming from an intense desire for reunion with the Lord, like that of the Gōpika for Gōpāla);[189] and Tanmaya (corporeal devotion).[190]

The benevolence and generosity, the kindness and forgiving nature of the Lord which make him pardon the sins of omission and commission on the part of his devotees, like a mother who, notwithstanding the pain she endures when the child in her womb kicks about, gives birth to the child and brings it up with care and love.[191]

Of all the means of God realisation, Annamācārya advocated Prapatti.[192] Also known as Ātma-nivēdana or Nikṣēpa or Nyāsa or Śaraṇāgati, Prapatti implied absolute and unquestioning surrender to the Lord without seeking any specific reward. The practice of Prapatti should be characterised by a strong determination to dedicate oneself to the Almighty and serve his creation, abstinence from all kinds of disservice to Him and his creation, practice of Dharma, absolute trust in the divine sense of goodness, justice and benevolence, and spiritual penitence.[193]

The Tāḷḷapākam poets were firm believers in and staunch advocates of the Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrine of Rāmānuja. Annamācārya derided in strong terms the Advaitins for their advocacy of Ēkātmavāda and for their failure to comment on all the Brahmasūtras of Vyāsa.[194] He also questioned the validity of the argument that Brahman is Nirguṇa, as that would knock the bottom out of the theory of the emergence of the four castes from the four limbs of Brahma and would make prayers and offerings to God meaningless.[195]

Veneration of Haridāsas,[196] belief in the infallibility of the Vēdas and the importance of receiving spiritual instruction from a teacher occupied an important place in the preachings of the Tāḷḷapākam poets.[197]

In another direction, members of the Tāḷḷapākam family were revered as Gurus by some of the high and the mighty of the times and the Gurus used their influence with their disciples to prevail upon them to establish Vaiṣṇava shrines and make generous endowments for their maintenance. An epigraph belonging to the reign of Acyutarāya[198] registers a Sarvamānya gift of the various imports made before the god Viṭhalēśvara to the shrine of Ahōbalēśvara at Voṅgunūtalapalli by Bācarasa, the Kāryakarta of the king, at the behest of Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgar. Another record dated S 1458 states that for the merit of his Guru

Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgāru, Rāyasam Veṅgaḷappa, son of Udayagiri Vīraṇoḍayala Timmarāja, gifted some land and certain taxes for service in the temple of Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, consecrated by him at Mōyiḷḷakālva.[199] Yet another record belonging to the reign of Acyutarāya records the consecration of the image of goddess Lakṣmī in the Tiruveṅgaḷanātha temple at Mōyiḷḷakālva by the donor of the above record, also for the merit of his Guru Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgāru.[200] The Tāḷḷapākam Gurus received gifts from princes and people alike, probably in recognition of their services to the cause of Vaiṣṇavism. For example, Tiruveṅgaḷanāthayyaṅgāru, son of Tāḷḷapāka Tirumalayyaṅgāru, received the village Goraṅjavrōlu in Koṅḍaviṭi Sīma in A.D. 1546.[201]

Kaṅdāḍai

Kaṅdāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgar of the Kaṅdāḍai family hailing from Toṅḍaimaṅḍalam was associated with the Tirumala Temple during the reign of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha as the acknowledged leader of the Srī Vaiṣṇavas. He was a disciple of Aḷagiya Manavāḷa Jīyar and credited to have visited all the 108 Vaiṣṇavite shrines including Śrīraṅgam, Tirumala and Kaṅci.[202]

The year in which Rāmānujayyaṅgar migrated to Tirupati is not known though it might be accepted that he reached Tirupati before he was appointed the Kartār or manager of the Rāmānuja Kūṭams (free feeding houses) by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha at Tirumala and Tirupati by A.D. 1467.[203] The Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas rose into prominence under the leadership of Rāmānujayyaṅgar and were associated with the ritual service in the temple.[204] The Sāttāda Ekāki Vaiṣṇavas, disciples of Rāmānujayyaṅgar, enjoyed the privilege of supplying the articles of sandal paste, musk, camphor, areca-nuts and betel leaves daily from the Rāmānujakūṭam situated at Tirumala. They were also permitted to be present in the sanctum sanctorum at the time of tirumaṅjanam or divine ablutions and participate in the conduct of this ritual.[205]

Rāmānujayyaṅgar was a good administrator and took full advantage of the influence he wielded over Sāḷuva Narasiṁha to shape the life and administration of the temple according to his own perspectives. As a token of his gratitude to Sāḷuva Narasiṁha for the patronage extended to him, Rāmānujayyaṅgar founded a village and named it Narasiṅgarāyapuram. The influence of this Śrīvaiṣṇava leader is known from a record dated A.D. 1495 which mentions a street named after him.[206] He carried out certain charitable works and made improvements in the existing conditions and resources of the temples at Tirumala and

Tirupati. Some beneficial arrangements in favour of the temples by effecting improvements in agriculture in the temple villages enhanced the income accruing from the temple lands[207] and with the income thus derived provided for offerings in the Veṅkaṭēsa and Gōyiṅdarāja temples at Tirumala and Tirupati.[208] He built a shrine for Kulasēkharāḷvār in the Gōviṅdarāja temple at Tirupati and provided for its maintenance.[209] In A.D. 1495 he was appointed the custodian of the gold treasury of the Veṅkaṭēśvara and Gōviṅdarāja temples by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. It was agreed that the jewels, ornaments and vessels belonging to the temples mentioned should be repaired according to the directions of Rāmānujayyaṅgar in the presence of the Sthānathār.[210] However, Rāmānujayyaṅgar made himself unpopular by introducing some new practices in the temple ritual. In A.D. 1495 he arranged for the singing of his praises called Ulā during summer festivals celebrated in honour of Śrī Veṅkaṭēsa and Śrī Gōviṅdarāja and also on each alternate Friday. Four dancing girls were engaged for reciting the Ulā. This innovation of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava leader created no favourable impression among the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, especially his own disciples, the Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. It is strange that Rāmānujayyaṅgar should have selected dancing girls to sing songs in his praise in the presence of the deity in the place of Brahmans who recited Prabaṅdhams.[211] He also arranged that the prasādam offered to Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara on the day of his birth-star should be brought down to Tirupati where it was received by Sūḍikuḍutta Nāciyar with all temple honours. This was followed by a felicitation of Nāciyar and Gōviṅdarāja in the Uñjal maṇṭapam. This must have been offensive to all orthodox Śrī Vaiṣṇavas.[212] Kaṅdāḍai Mādhavayyaṅgar succeeded Kaṅdāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgar as the manager of the Rāmānujakūṭams at Tirumala and Tirupati and the gold treasury of the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala.[213] He founded the village of Tirumalādēvīpuram and donated it for the propitiation of God Veṅkaṭēsa in A.D. 1520. He was followed by Kaṅdāḍai Kumāra Rāmānujayyaṅgar as the manager of the Rāmānujakūṭams and gold treasury. In A.D. 1530 he presented a wooden car to the Rāma temple at Tirupati for the merit of King Acyutadēvarāya.[214] Kaṅdāḍai Śrīraṅgācārya, son of Kaṅḍāḍai Bhāvanācārya, figures as the guru of Mahāmaṅḍalēśvara Viṭhalēśvara Mahārāja, son of Āravīṭi Bukkarāja Rāmarāja Timmarājayyan, in a record dated A.D. 1545.[215] Śrīrangācārya was also the guru of a lady by name Tiruveṅkaṭa Koṛṛi.[216] Another member of the Kaṅdāḍai family was Kaṅdāḍai Śrīraṅgācārya of Kaṅdanavōlu who was the guru of Mahāmaṅḍalēśvara Jakkarāja, son of Jaṁbulachinne Śrīraṅgarāja of the lunar race.[217] Kōil Kaṅdāḍai Aṇṇaṇ,[218] Kaṅdāḍai Appaṇ, son of Kaṅdāḍai Appaṇṇaṇ of Vādhūla gōtra, Āpastamba sūtra and Yajus sākhā, who granted the half village of Puṇṇiyam to the Veṅkaṭēśvara

temple at Tirumala,[219] Kaṅdāḍai Appayyaṅgar,[220] Kaṅdāḍai Nāyinār, son of Kōnēri Appan of Tañjaneri Kaṅdāḍai family residing in Kṛṣṇarāyapuram, a suburb of Caṅdragiri,[221] were some of the prominent members of the family.

Cult of Viṭhōba

The cult of Viṭhōba or Viṭhala was an important aspect of the Bhakti movement which gained momentum in the Vijayanagara empire. The cult based on total devotion to Lord Kṛṣṇa in the name of Viṭhala along with Rukminī at Pandharpur attained great popularity in Mahārastra.[222] The earliest reference to the worship of Viṭhōba is found in the Nāmadēvagāthas belonging to the later half of the 13th century.[223] They relate how Puṅḍalīka's infinite devotion towards his old parents attracted Lord Kṛṣṇa to Pandharpur in order to witness the extraordinary devotion of Puṅḍalīka. Lord Kṛṣṇa who came with his flock and five hundred companions could not return to Dwāraka as he was made to stand on a brick by Puṅḍalīka who was immersed in serving his old parents. The Vārkari saints, whose poems and devotional songs had an overwhelming influence on the people of Mahārastra, considered Viṭhōba as a form of Kṛṣṇa and gave credence to the story of Lord Kṛṣṇa taking His abode at Pandharpur on account of Puṅḍalīka.[224]

Thus the worship of Viṭhōba, an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu, which attained great popularity among the classes and masses in Mahārastra, spread to Vijayanagara especially at a time when the Bhakti movement was making great headway in Vijayanagara empire. The prevalence of the cult is reflected in the occurrence, in the inscriptions of the time, of the name of Viṭhala in varied forms such as: Viṭṭheya Nāyaka, Viṭṭiyakkan, Viṭhane, Viṭhapārya, Viṭhaladēva, Viṭhala, Viṭhaṇṇa, Viṭhapa, Viṭhappa, Viṭhalārya, Viṭhalēsvara, Prasaṇna Viṭhalāpura, Viṭhalarāju, Viṭhalayyadēvamahārāju, Viṭhalāpuram, Viṭhalam etc.[225] The adoption of the name of Viṭhala as a personal and place name is indicative of the devotion of the people to the God.

The popularity of the cult of Viṭhōba in Vijayanagara empire is proved by the existence of temples dedicated to Viṭhala, sculptures of Viṭhala, inscriptions registering grants of land, cash payments and structural additions to the temples of Viṭhala. According to a record dated A.D. 1408 some citizens of Araga granted an agrahāra village Nāgasamudra to Brahmans in the presence of the God Viṭhalēswara.[226] Acyutarāya granted a village to the Viṭhala temple at Haṁpi in 1531.[227] In A.D. 1536 Hiriya Tirumala Nāyaka gave 200 varāhas for daily offerings

to the Viṭhala temple.

Kōnēṭi Timmarāja made a gift of the toll revenue raised in Ravudūr for offering to the God Viṭhaladēva.[228] According to another inscription dated A.D. 1554 the Vipravinōdins of Kōvilkuṇṭla made a grant of their incomes from the mahājanas to God Pāṇḍuraṅga Viṭhalēśvara for conducting the Śrī Rāmajayaṅti festival for the spiritual uplift of their community not only of Kōvilkuṇṭla but also of other countries such as Vidyānagara, Bedadakōṭa, Kaṭaka, Drāviḍa, etc. The fact that the Vipravinōdin community made an offering of their income to God Pāṇḍuraṅga Viṭhalēśvara and also invoked the blessings of the God not only for their kinsmen of the region but also for those of other regions proves, in unmistakable terms, the wide popularity of the cult.[229] Yet another inscription dated A.D. 1516 registers the construction of a hundred-pillared maṅḍapa to God Viṭhala at Haṁpi by King Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.[230] Mahāmaṅḍalēśvara Cikkarāju remitted some cash into the treasury of God Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Perumāḷ in the temple of Viṭhalēśvara as an endowment for daily worship of the God.[231] This indicates that the Dēvasthānam of Viṭhalēśvara was quite a big establishment. It contained minor shrines dedicated to other forms of Viṣṇu like Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, etc., with regular treasuries attached to them. Similarly, there was an agreement granted by Kurucēṭi Śrī Raṅgarāju to a person for having brought under cultivation a specified piece of land stipulating an annual payment of one ghatti Varāha by him into the treasury of God Viṭhalēśvara.[232] Dēvarāya Bhaṭṭar installed an image of Viṭhalēśvara at Tirupati and provision was made for offerings to the God daily and, on auspicious occasions, special offerings were made. To cover the expenses for such offerings, he secured a canal called Viṭhalēśvaran Kalvay in Tirucānūr and Viṭṭalēśvarapuram and four shares in the half agrahāragrāmam Nedunadu Kulattur.[233] Cinnāmba made a gift of the village Vaṅkāyalapādu for daily offerings to Gōviṅdarāja and Viṭhalēśvara of Tirupati.[234] Peda Tirumalayyaṅgar of the illustrious Tāḷḷapākam family made a gift to the temple of Viṭhalēśvara at Haṁpi in A.D. 1531.[235]

The innumerable sculptures of Viṭhala not only prove the popularity of the cult but also provide a fascinating study of their artistic excellence in terms of sculptural craftsmanship. An image of Viṭhala from Mulbagal portrays child Bāla Viṭhala with proportionate limbs,chubby face and simple ornamentation. He holds a Saṅkha in his left hand and his right hand is held in the posture of varada. The other two hands touch the hips(Katyāvalaṁbita). This icon which bears a close resemblance to the Pandharpur one represents the infant God of the Vārkari Poets.[236]

The contemporary literary work Pāṇḍuraṅga Mahātmyamu, as the name signifies, was composed to extol the greatness of Viṭhala of Pandharpur. In this work, the story of Puṇḍalīka's profound devotion to his parents and his saintly character are vividly described.[237] The sanctity of Pandharpur as combining in itself the religious merit of Daivata, Kṣētra and Tīrtha is high lighted.[238] To appeal to the minds of the masses the story of how a crow, a swan, a parrot, a snake, a bee and a cow attained salvation at this place is also narrated.[239] This story resembles that of Kāḷahasti Mahātyamu by Dhūrjaṭi in which the story of the attainment of Mukti by a spider, an elephant and a snake is described. It is stated that Dharmarāja made a pilgrimage to Pandharpur along with his brothers.[240] This shows that Pandharpur was a very ancient place of pilgrimage as it finds mention even in epics like the Mahābhārata.

One of the prominent Haridāsas, Purandaradāsa, was a great devotee of Viṭhala. He appealed to God Viṭhala for His mercy in the following words: "Having assumed the title of protector of devotees, should you not be at hand to them? You, who liberates man, my God Purandara Viṭhala. I have trusted in you a competent saviour".[241] In another place he said: "If the thief sees a purse in the mirror and makes a hole in the mirror to get it, will it become his? I have placed my trust in you, O Purandara Viṭhala, save me."[242] Purandaradāsa established the superiority of Purandara Viṭhala when he stressed that "there is only one who is great - our Purandhara Viṭhala."[243] The great Tāḷḷapākam poets sang in praise of Pāṇḍuraṅga Viṭhala. According to them, though Viṭhala was small in stature he mastered all branches of knowledge. Pāṇḍuraṅga, according to Annamācārya, was so great that 770 persons sang in his praise.[244]

Kṛṣṇa Cult

Another important aspect of the Bhakti movement among the Vaiṣṇavas was the worship of Kṛṣṇa along with Rādha, popularised by Vallabhācārya, a Telugu Brahman of South India settled in Benaras. He developed a path known as "Puṣṭi mārga" to God realisation. It is by Puṣṭi or God's grace alone that a man reaches the abode of Kṛṣṇa situated in a higher region than that of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva.[245] Vallabha considered the Gōpis as the brides of Lord Kṛṣṇa immersed in passionate love, a kind of bridal mysticism in which the devotee experiences fine human emotions like intense longing, despondency, dejection, etc. When finally the devotee secures union with Lord he is elated with joy which "fills the eyes of the devotee with tears, his voice gets choked, he breaks down, laughs, sings and dances."[246] Based on love, Vallabha's system popularised rāsalīlas or Kṛṣṇa sporting with the Gōpis represented

in the sculptures and literary works of the period.[247] There was a temple dedicated to Kṛṣṇa at Haṁpi assigned to the later half of the 15th century which bears ample testimony to the prevalence of the cult. The Gōpālakṛṣṇa temple at Kṛṣṇarājasāgara assignable to A.D. 1560 contains a beautiful image of Gōpālakṛṣṇa. The image, about 6 feet high, is represented as standing under a honnĕ tree playing upon a flute. The cows and the cowherds, gods and seers, were absorbed in listening to the divine music. The gōpis, oblivious of the sorroundings in a state of ecstacy, let their garments fall from their waists.[248] Kṛṣṇa teaching Gīta to Arjuna is illustrated on the south wall of the garbhagṛha of the Sāntanamallēsvara temple at Puspagiri.[249] Kṛṣṇa killing Putana, who was sent by Kaṁsa, by suckling her poisonous milk and Kṛṣṇa crawling in between two trees dragging along the mortar to which his right leg is tied by Yasōda were vividly described on the walls of the garbhagṛha of the Veṅkaṭaramaṇa temple at Tādpatri.[250]

The bridal mysticism of Vallabha's system is reflected in the devotional literature of the Tāḷḷapākam poets. Tāḷḷapākam Annamācārya considered himself as the Nāyika (beloved) and God Veṅkaṭēsa as the Nāyaka (lover) and experienced a highly emotional involvement with Him. His work Śṛṅgāra Maṅjari portrays the love of a maiden for Lord Veṅkaṭēsa and its fulfilment through the mediation of her companions.

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2. Srinivasachari, P.N. The Philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita, p.389.

3. S.D.S., p.66.

4. Ibid., p.77.

5. Satyavrata Singh, Vēdānta Dēśika, pp.354-5.

6. S.D.S., p.78.

7. Ibid., p.79.

8. Radhakrishnan, S. History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western, Vol.1, pp.318-19. "Emancipated spirits are ulterior to the infinite absolute, which is unsusceptible of aught ulterior; they enjoy all beatitudes together with that spirit." S.D.S. p.82.

9. T.T.D.I., Vol.II, No.57.

10. vide Chapter on Maṭha.

11. Ibid., No.57.

12. S.I.I., Vol.XVI, Nos.153, 127,109,174,199,200.

13. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XXIV, pp.126-136; Monier Williams, Hinduism, pp.125-55; Ind Ant, III, p.175.

14. Srinivasachari, P.N. The Philosophy of Visiṣṭādvaita, p.387.

15. T.V.Mahalingam, Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar, pp.310-312; Srinivasachari, P.N. The Philosophy of Visiṣṭādvaita, pp.534-537;

16.Homage to a Historian. Edited by N.Jagadeesan and S.Jeyapragasam, Koodal Publishers, 1976, p.107.

17. According to the Vaḍagalai tradition Vēdānta Dēsika was born in Kali 4371, Saka 1190 or A.D. 1268 at Tuppil Near Kañci. He was the son of Ananta Sūri and Tōtāramma, the sister of Ātrēya Rāmānuja, the great Visiṣṭādvaitic logician. J.R.A.S.(Bombay)., Vol.XXIV, p.230.

18. Pageant of Great Lives, Series 11, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, 1964, pp.30-31; A.S.M., p.514.

19. A.S.M., p.511; Jayatīrtha Vijaya, Canto 11, 54, 68.

20. Pageant of Great Lives, Series 11, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1964, p.28.

21. S.D.S., p.73.

22. Satyavrata Singh, Vēdānta Dēsika, p.146.

23. According to Guruparaṁpara Prabhāvam, the original name of Brahma Taṅtra Svataṅtra was Perūruḷalayyan and after he accepted Sanyāsa came to be known as Pēraruḷāḷa Jīyar. The title Brahma Taṅtra Svataṅtra was conferred on the Jīyar when he defeated a scholar from Northern India in a polemical contest at Śrīraṅgam. He was credited with the composition of two works known as Divyasuristuti and Ācāryavatāra Ghaṭṭārtha. Ep.Ind., Vol.XXIV,p.322.

24.A.S.M., pp.515-18. Krishna svami Aiyangar placed this event in about A.D. 1370 after the death of Vēdānta Dēsika in A.D. 1369. J.I.H., Vol.18, pp.378-79.

25.The date of his birth is given as Kali 4490, Saka 1301, A.D. 1379, T.D.E. Report, p.212.

26. Vīraraghavacharya, K. History of Tirupati, Vol.II, pp.570-71.

27. Ep. Ind. XXV, p.323.

28. Cultural Heritage of India, Vol.IV, pp. 181-182.

29. Father Heras, The Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, pp.540-41.

30. Prapannāmṛtam, Chapters 123 to 126.

31. Bhandarkar, D.R. Volume, pp.183-95.

32. Vide Chapter 'Religious toleration'.

33. Tasyām Śivah Prādurabhūd guṇādhyo namaḥ Virūpākṣa iti prasiddhah. Ep. Ind., Vol.XV, Verse.15, pp.21,22.

34. Ep. Ind., Vol.XVII, p.203; E.C. III, Ml.121.

35. Ep. Ind., Vol.XV, pp.8, 20-25; Sources, p.71.

36. Ec. V., Pt.1, Bl.135.

37. E.C. III, Ml.121.

38. E.C. X, Kl.35; Ibid. XII, Gb.29; Ibid., IV. Ng.59; M.E.R. 1927. No.393; Ibid., 1931-32, No.250.

39. The ancestors of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha were followers of Vaiṣṇavism and particularly devoted to Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara. They made a number of gifts to the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala. Sāḷuva Mallayadēva Mahārāja, son of Sāḷuva Erṛakaṁpayadēva Mahārāja and governor of Caṅdragiri-rājya, Sāḷuva Rāmacaṅdrarāja, son of Mallyadēva Mahārāja, Sāḷuva Parvatarāja, son of Sāḷuvarāja and the first cousin of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, Sāḷuva Gōpaya, son of Mallayadēva Mahārāja and Sāḷuva Timmarāja, another son of Mallayadēva Mahārāja, were all devoted to Viṣṇu. T.T.D.I., Vol.II, Nos.18,19,23, 41,42,76.

40. Jaimini Bhāratamu, V.1,Ch.V. V.I. The prosperity of his kingdom depended on the grace of Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara. Śrī Veṅkaṭādrināḍha dayāvardhita rājya sannu-tārdijanamahī dēvaga vairinṛparājīvanikara caṅdra narasiṁhanarēndra.

41. Sāḷuvābhuydayam, Canto III; Jaimini Bhāratamu, V.43.

42. T.T.D.I., Vol.11; Nos.4, 30,31,34.

43. T.T.D.I., Vol.11, No.31.

44. The hill is referred as the Śēṣādri Hill, Ibid., No.82.

45. For details see Vaiṣṇava families of this chapter.

46. Kōnēṭirāja had a partiality for the Śiva temple at Jambukēśvaram. Ep.Ind., XIV. 97; M.E.R. 1911, Nos.259; Ibid, 1913, Nos.74; Ibid, 1918. Nos. 396; Ibid, 1920, Nos.54, 49,51.

47. Sources, p.109.

48. Kōil Oḷugu, pp.144-5; Fur. So.Vol.I, p.171.

49. Fur. So.Vol.I, p.172.

50. T.D.E. Report, p.149.

51. Am.Ml.,V.1.

52. Vīraraghavacharya, K. History of Tirupati, Vol.II, p.617. It being certain from the Āmuktamālyada that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was a devotee as much of Viṣvaksēna as of any member of the Vaishnava Pantheon, the absence of Viṣvaksēna from the grant can only be due to the fact that in a grant, invocation is comparatively a short affair. In the grants of Vaiṣṇavas, this invocation of Viṣvaksēna is not invariable.

53. An inscription from Śrīkākulam dated A.D. 1518 records the gift of villages belonging to the Koṇḍavīṭisīma to Telugurāya of Śrīkākulam. S.I.I., Vol.IV, No.981.

54. This Sūḍikuḍutta Nāciyār, which was its Tamil name, was translated beautifully and poetically by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya as Āmuktamalayada, which means one who offered the garland of flowers (to Hari) after wearing it herself. (Am. Ml. Intro.p.1)

55. Am. Ml.V.17.

56. Ibid.,Ch.III, VV. 14-91.

57. Ibid.,Ch.III, VV. 3-7.

58. Kṛṣṇadēvarāya terms it as Kṣētrāja Śakti, Ibid. Ch.III, V.79.

59. S.D.S.,pp.228.

60. Tkṣaṇakriyāyōgascācētane pradhāne
na saṁbhavati Ataḥ īdriśekṣaṇa-
kṣamahcētanaviśēṣah sarvjñaḥ
sarvaśaktiḥ purusōttamaḥ sacchājbdābhi-
dhēyaḥ. Rāmānuja Bhāṣya, 1-1-5.

61. Radhakrishnan,S. History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western, Vol.I, pp.275-81.

62. Brahma Yāthātmyānubhavarūpa
bhōgamātre muktasya brahma-
sāmyapratipādanacca liṅgā-

jagadvyāpāravarjamityavagamyate.

- Śrī Bhāṣya, 4-4-21.

63. S.D.S.,pp.178-202.

64. Tulyanyāyatayā Śāstrīyamaihikāmuṣmikamapi phalamata eva parasmāt puruṣāt bhavatīti sāmānyena phalamata ityucyate.- Kuta etat-sa eva hi sarvajṅah sarva-saktiḥ maho-dāro yāgadānahomādibhirupāsanena cārā-dhita aihikāmuṣmika bhogajātam svasvarūpāvāptirūpa-mapavargam ca dātumīṣṭe nahyaccetanam karma kṣaṇadh-vamsi kālāntarabhāviphalsādhakam bhavitumarhati.

Śrī Bhāṣya, 3-2-37.

65. S.D.S.,pp.145-160.

66. Śāstram Yasya Yōnih Kāraṇam
pramāṇam tacchāstrayōni
tasya-bhāvaḥ śāstrayōnitvam
tasmāt brahmajñāna kāraṇatvat
śāstrasya tadyōnitvam
brāhmaṇah Atyantātīndriyatvena
pratyakśādipramāṇāviṣayatāyabrahmaṇaḥ
śāstraikapramāṇakatvāt uktasyarūpam brahmaṇaḥ
yatō va imāni bhūtānityādi vākyam
bodha yatyevetyarthaḥ.

Śrī Bhāṣya, 1-1-3

67. S.D.S.,p.15.

68. Ibid., pp.14-15.

69. Tamimam guṇasāgaram paryālōcayatām
khadyōtakalpasya sārirasambandhanibandhanā
parimitaduhkhasambandhayōgyasya baddhamuktā-vasthasya jīvasya prastutaguṇalesasambandha
gandhopi nopapadyata iti nāsmin prakaraṇe

Sārīraparigrahaśanka jāyata ityarthaḥ.

- Śrī Bhāṣya, 1-2-3.

70.Am.Ml.pp.259-60.

71. Ibid., Ch.111. V.12.

72. Ibid., V.13.

73. Yamunācārya, a Śrī Vaiṣṇava leader in South India, lived before Rāmānuja, and is believed to have influenced the thought of Rāmānuja. Ibid. Ch.IV. VV.39-56.

74. Ibid., V.V. 56-75.

75. Veldanda Prabhakaramatya, A commentary on Āmuktamālyada, p.112.

76. Manucaritramu - "Śrī Veṅkaṭēśapāda Padmavēśita sadaya hṛidaya", Cant.III.V.1.

77. Pr. Hr. V.1.

78. Ibid., Ch.IV, V.1.

79. A certain Veṅkaṭa Tātayārya of the Śaṭhamarṣana gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajus śākhā, son of Ahōbalācārya figures in a record dated 1523 A.D. Kṛṣṇadēvarāya granted a śāsana to the effect that he was to receive the first tīrtha and prasāda in all the Viṣṇu temples of the Empire excepting those at Śrīraṅgam, Ahōbilam and Ghaṭikāgiri. He was also authorised to hold enquiries into the conduct of the followers of Rāmānuja and to punish the delinquents in regard to religious and social matters. This Veṅkaṭa Tātayārya may be identified with the Tātācārya who was the guru of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya on the basis of their belonging to the same gōtra, sūtra and śākhā. My.Arch. Rep.1918, p.110.

80. My.Arch. Rep., 1906-7, para 53.

81. For details vide Chapter 'Religious Toleration'.

82. For instance, Timmari Nāyaka, son of Yallari Nāyaka, granted a village Rāmaduke in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Sīma to the Temple of Cenna Kēsava at Macherla in A.D. 1518 (MER., 1929-30, No.84). The chief is said to have got the Nāgārjuna-Koṇḍa Sīma as Nāyaṁ kara from Kṛṣṇadēvarāya Mahārāya. This gift was preceded by an assignment of taxes by Perumukkil Nāyaka, Mrityunjaya Nāyaka, for offerings and worship in the Temple of Raghunātha Perumāḷ on the Rāmagiri hill at Erumai Vettippalaiyam. The gift was intended for the merit of the king and Tirumalai Nāyaka. MER., 1929-30, Nos.168,84.

Ūḍiyam Ellappa Nāyakkar, probably a personal attendant of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, granted three villages, Karṟaḷaipaṭṭu, Nelvāy and Koḷḷiḍumbai to the Veṅkaṭēsvara temple in A.D. 1516 for the merit of his King (T.T.D.1, Vol.III,109). He was also the Ūḍiyam of Acyutarāya (Ibid.,Vol.IV, 38). Aḍaippam Baiyappa Nāyakkar, the son of Timmappa Nāyakkar, the betel bearer of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, arranged for the propitiation of Veṅkaṭēsvara at Tirumala for the merit of Kṛṣṇarāya (Ibid.,Vol.III, 135). Baiyappa Nāyakkar also served King Acyutaraya in whose reign he gave a large amount of money to the same temple (Ibid.,Vol.IV.53).

83. V.V.,pp.92-93.

84. Sources of Vijayanagar History, pp.172,176.

85. T.D.E. Report, p.220. It is stated that owing to the power politics at the capital, Acyutarāya performed his coronation in the presence of Veṅkaṭēśa at Tirupati and later at Kāḷahasti. Fur. So. Vol.1, p.235.

86. T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, No.16.

87. History of Tirupati, Vol.II, pp.685-86.

88. T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, Nos.54,58.

89. Fur. So.,Vol.I, p.236; T.D.E. Report, p.225.

90. Fur. So.,Vol.I, p.236; T.D.E. Report, p.223.

91. T.T.D. I.,Vol.IV, Nos.81,83,84,88,94.

92. T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, Nos.8,9,10.

93. Ibid.,Nos.123, 92.

94. Ibid.,No.29.

95. M.E.R.,1919, No.384.

96. Ibid.,1900, para.77.

97. Ibid.,1919, Nos.542, 546,511.

98. Ibid.,1921, No.356.

99. Ibid.,1910, No.240.

100. Ibid.,1937-38, No.123.

101. M.E.R. 1913, No.272. The story goes that the idol of Gōvindarāja, originally set up by the Cōḷa King Krimikaṇṭa, was thrown into the sea by Kuḷōttunga II who obviously was a Saivite. But it was reconsecrated by Rāmānuja in a temple built at Tirupati. (Ancient India, S.K.Aiyangar, p.320.) Despite the sincere efforts of Vēdānta Dēsika and Gōpana to

consecrate the Gōvindarāja Shrine at Cidambaram, the Saivas succeeded in removing the idol from its original abode. No reference is made to the Gōvindarāja Shrine even in the gifts of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. For example, in A.D. 1510 Kṛṣṇadēvarāya made a gift of three villages for the Mahāpūja of Aḷagiya Tirucciṟṟambalam Uḍaiya Tambirānār. (M.E.R,1913. No. 323). When he visited Cidambaram in A.D. 1517-18 he worshipped Lord Ponṇabalam (Naṭarāja) and constructed the northern gōpuram of the Temple. This suggests that there was no shrine for Gōvindarāja at Cidambaram till its consecration by Acyutarāya in A.D. 1539. For, in A.D. 1530, Acyuta granted eighty-two villages for the celebration of the annual car festival of Naṭarāja and completed the northern gōpuram of the temple. This indicates that there was no Gōvindarāja shrine even in A.D. 1530. As stated earlier, it was consecrated in A.D. 1539 by Acyutarāya. So the statement recorded in Prapannāmṛtam that Rāmarāja restored the Vaiṣṇava shrine at Cidambaram after the defeat of the Saiva scholars at Citrakūṭa (Cidambaram) by a Vaiṣṇava scholar named Mahācārya, who was a resident of Ghaṭikācala, is untenable. Sources, p.202-3; Jo.Bombay. History. Soc. IV, p.40; MER;1892, No.174; Ibid,1913, Nos.371,374; JOR 1938, pp.169-178.

102. Fur. So., Vol.III, pp.173-4.

103. E.C.III, Ml.105.

104. M.E.R. 1935-36. No.272.

105. E.C.IV, Ch.196. The record says that the Chief inherited Terakanambi as a Nāyaṅkara.

106. M.E.R. 1929-30, No.330. The order was communicated by Vāraṇāsi Varadappa Aṇṇarayyan who called himself the kumāra of the King.

107. Father Heras, Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, pp.541-42.

108. Fur. So. Vol.III, pp.177-78.

109. Fur. So. Vol.I, p.239; Ibid, Vol.III, pp.179-80.

110. Fur. So. Vol.III, p.179.

111. Ep. Ind. XVI, p.305.

112. He constructed a maṇḍapam on the pathway to Tirumala and for the convenience of the pilgrims started a water-shed in it in A.D. 1533. T.T.D.I. Vol.IV, Nos.25,31,168.

113. T.D.E. Report, p.229.

114. M.E.R. 1912, No.59; S.I.I. Vol.XVI, No.106.

115. M.E.R. 1950-51, No.324. Her spiritual teacher was Kaṅdāḍai Aṇṇan of the Vādhūla gōtra.

116. T.T.D.I. Vol.IV, No.31.

117. T.T.D.I. Vol.IV, No.168.

118. Ibid, No.66. The queen was a disciple of Śrīraṅgam Kaṅdāḍai Appan.

119. Ibid., No.88.

120. Ibid., No.23.

121. T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, No.24.

122. Ibid., No.59.

123. Ep. Ind. Vol.IV, p.15.

124. Ep. Ind. Vol.IV, pp.5-6.

125. T.T.D.I. Vol.V, No.154.

126. My.Arch. Rep. 1932, pp.130-145.

127. T.T.D.I. Vol.V, No.154.

128. Ep. Ind. Vol.IV, p.21.

129. T.T.D.I. Vol.V, No.29.

130. Ibid., No.155.

131. Ep. Ind. Vol.IV, p.21.

132. T.T.D.I. Vol.V, No.168; T.D.E.Report,p.256.

133. M.E.R. 1937-38, Nos.276,272,277,279.

134. Ibid., 1953-54, No.23.

135. Ibid., 1937-38, Nos,228,227,243,244.

136. Ibid., Nos.242, 244.

137. Ibid., 1921, No.394.

138. Ibid., 1937-38, No.253.

139. Ibid., No, 273.

140. T.T.D.I.,Vol.II, No.20.

141. Ibid., Nos.58,60,109.

142. M.E.R. 1921, No.31.

143. T.D.E. Report, p.313.

144. Ibid., p.310.

145. M.E.R. 1919, Nos.354, 383.

146. M.E.R. 1919, Nos. 649, 650.

147. T.T.D.I.,Vol.V, No.92.

148. T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, No.170.

149. He was also referred to as Kūranādha in Paramayōgivilāsamu, p.538.

150. Dr.Satyavrata Singh, Vēdānta Dēsika, p.119.

151. Ep. Ind. Vol.XIV, pp.83-96.

152. Jaganmātā, the mother of Parāsara Bhaṭṭa, gave away the village to the Śrīraṅganātha temple after the death of her son. Ep. Ind. XIV, pp.83-96.

153. Śrīṅgāra Mañjari, Colophon.

154. T.D.E. Report, p.281, He is not represented by any epigraphical records.

155. T.D.E. Report, p.283.

156. T.T.D.I.,Vol.III, No.122.

157. Ibid.,Vol.IV, No.6.

158. He gave two villages to the Veṅkaṭēsvara Temple stated to have been granted to the donor previously by Acyutarāya. Ibid.,Vol.IV, No.14.

159. Ibid.,Vol.IV, No.40.

160. Ibid., Vol.IV, No.100.

161. Ibid.,Vol.IV, No.100.

162. Ibid.,Vol.IV, No.155.

163. According to the inscription, a certain portion of the Prasādam offered to God was provided by Tirumalayyaṅgār for distribution among the Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas at Tirumala and Tirupati. The father and the son are referred to as the disciples of Tirumalayyaṅgar. Ibid., Vol.V, No.55.

164. T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, No.144.

165. M.E.R. 1904, No.8.

166. M.E.R., 1907, No.607.

167. M.E.R., 1919, No.496.

168. The record informs that the Maṅgāpuram village was granted to the Tāḷḷapākam family by the emperors of Vijayanagara as Sarvamānya Agrahāra. At the present day the temple is in a dilapidated condition and the presiding deity, Kalyāṇa Veṅkaṭēsvara, a huge standing figure, measuring over eight feet in length, is neglected without pūja. T.D.E. Report, p.293; T.T.D.I. Vol.IV, No.144.

169. T.T.D.I., Vol.V, No.99.

170. In conjunction with his father, Tāḷḷapākam Cina Tirumalayyaṅgar, Tiruveṅkaṭayyar deposited into the Śrī Bhaṇḍāram 41 Rekhai for offerings for Veṅkaṭēsvara during the Āṇi Tiruṇāḷ, T.T.D.I. Vol.V, No.99.

171. Ibid., No.153.

172. M.E.R., 1919, No.495.

173. T.D.E. Report, p.294. This record refers to Tirumalamman, mother of Tiruveṅkaṭanāthan and Tāḷḷapākam Tiruveṅkaṭappan, as the elder brother of Tiruveṅkaṭanāthan and Tāḷḷapākam Narasayyaṅgar as his paternal uncle.

174. T.T.D.I., Vol.V. No.71.

175. T.T.D.I., Vol.V. No.71; Inscriptions in the Nellore District, Part II, No.21. The inscriptions start with an invocation to Rāmānuja.

176. Adhyātma Saṅkīrtanalu, Vol. XI, VV.2-8; Vol.V. V.67; Vol.IX. V.81.

177. Ibid., Vol.IX, V.145; Vol.VII, V.282; Vol.VIII, V.282.

178. Ibid., Vol.V, V.66; Vol.II, V.319.

179. Ibid., Vol. II, V.180.

180. Ibid., Vol.IX, V.66.

181. Ibid., Vol.II, V.289.

182. Ibid., Vol.IX, V.135.

183. Ibid., Vol.V, V.97.

184. Ibid., Vol.XI, V.102.

185. Ibid., Vol.VII, V.249.

186. Ibid., Vol.VIII, V.23.

187. Ibid., Vol. VII. V.235.

188. Ibid.,Vol.IV, V.I.

189. Ibid.,Vol.III, V.359.

190. Ibid.,Vol.III, V.356.

191. Ibid.,Vol.IX. V.148.

192. Ibid.,Vol.II. V.31; Vol.V, 216; Vol.IX. V.79.

193. Ibid.,Vol.II, V.172; Vol.VII, VV.83,65.

194. Ibid.,Vol. VII, V.19; Vol.VI, V.139; Vol.VI, V.120.

195. Ibid.,Vol.VII, V.18.

196. Ibid.,Vol.II, V.352; Vol.VIII, V.23; Vol.IX, VV.112,125; Vol.X, VV.199,132, 245; Vol.VI,V.114; Vol.VII, V.75.

197. Ibid.,Vol.VII, VV.105, 138; Nītiśatakamu, p.51.

198. M.E.R.,1938-39, NO.337.

199. Ibid.,No.393.

200. Ibid.,No.394.

201. Ibid.,1915, No.419.

202. T.T.D.I.,Vol.II, No.14.

203. Rāmānujayyaṅgār constructed Rāmānujakūṭams at Śrīraṅgam and Kaṅci, Ibid.,Nos.13, 15,40,44,31.

204. T.T.D.I.,Vol.11, No.22. The Āmuktamālyada refers to two sects of Vaiṣṇavas, the Śāttina and the Śāttani, who followed the Drāviḍa Prabaṅdham. The Śāttina Śrī Vaiṣṇavas were Brahmans and entitled to serve the Lord in the temple, whereas the Śāttani Śrī Vaiṣṇavas were non-Brahmans and hence were not entitled to serve the Lord in the temple. Ch.11, V.98.

205. T.T.D.I.,Vol.11, No.22.

206. Ibid.,No.134.

207. T.T.D.I.,Vol.11, Nos.24,26,38,40,45,47.

208. Ibid.,Nos.81,128.

209. Ibid.,No.36.

210. Ibid.,No.133.

211. Ibid.,Nos.134,136. Rāmānujayyaṅgār was given hereditary charge

or Kāṇiyakṣi to be enjoyed by his disciples in succession.

212. Ibid., No.140.

213. Ibid., Vol.III, Nos.142,153.

214. Ibid.,Vol.IV, Nos.1,3.

215. Ibid.,Vol.V, No.51.

216. Ibid.,No.49.

217. M.E.R.,1922, NO.703.

218. T.T.D.I.,Vol.V, Nos.2.

219. Ibid.,No.99. From the date of the record it appears possible that the son Kaṅdāḍai Appan was identical with Āḷavadāru Kandāḷa Appagāru whom Tenali Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi mentions in the Telugu Kāvya.

220. Ibid.,No.47A.

221. Ibid.,No.88.

222. D.S. Sarma, Hinduism through the Ages, p.52.

223. Nāmdēv was a famous Maratha saint who composed Abhaṅgs in praise of Viṭhōba of Pandharpur. Nāmadēvaca Gatha, No.444, Citrasala Ed.

224. Mac Nicol, IndianTheism, pp.120, 126; Varkari Panthaca Itihasa, pp.1,2.

225. E.C.III, Hg.89; E.C.VII, Ml.139, Ng.151; E.C.Vol.V. Tn.225;E.C.IV, Ch.184, Yl.194, 168; S.I.I.Vol.XVI, Nos.167, 297,109.

226. E.C. VIII, Th,222.

227. S.I.I. Vol.IX, Pt.11, No.534.

228. Ibid., No.574.

229. Ibid., No.616.

230. S.I.I., Vol.XVI, No.190.

231. Ibid.,No.56.

232. Ibid.,No.141.

233. Ibid.,No.251.

234. T.T.D.I.,Vol.V, No.367.

235. Ibid., No.401, G.T.

236. My.Arch. Rep. 1945, pp.36-37, plates 11,2.

237. Pāṇḍuraṅgamahātmyamu. Ch.11, VV, 5-75.

238. Ibid., Ch.1, VV, 152-157. Pandharpur was known as Puṇḍarika Kṣētra after the name of Puṇḍarika. It was sanctified by the waters of the river Bhīma and the existence of the temple of Pāṇḍuraṅga Viṭhala.

239. Ibid.,Ch.IV, VV. 213-259.

240. Ibid.,Ch.V, VV, 35-64.

241. Devotional Poets and Mystics, Part II, Publications Division, p.41.

242. Ibid., p.41.

243. Ibid., pp.43,44.

244. Adhyātma Saṅkrītanalu, edited by Gauri Peddi Ramasubba Sarma, T.T.D. Publication, 1981, No.217.

245. D.S. Sarma, Hinduism through the Ages, Bhavan's Book University, 1961. p.54.

246. P. Nagaraja Rao, Introduction to Vēdānta, Bhavan's Book University, 1960, pp.206- 207.

247. R.Champakalakshmi, Vaiṣṇava Iconography in the Tamil Country, Orient Longman, 1981, p.137.

248. Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II, Pt.1, pp.292-93.

249. V.Kamesvara Rao, Select Vijayanagara Temples of Rāyalaseema, The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1976, p.190.

250. Ibid.,p.181.

5

Vaiṣṇavism - Madhva School

The attacks of the followers of the Bhakti movement against Śaṅkara's school of Māyā or the unreality of the world led by Rāmānuja continued for nearly seven centuries claiming a galaxy of great thinkers - Madhva, Nimbārka, Vallabha, Caitanya, etc., amongst their ranks who founded different schools of Vaiṣṇavism.[1] Of these Madhva or Ānanda Tīrtha, the founder of Dvaita School, stands out prominent and rightly claims a place along with the other two Ācāryas, Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja.[2]

As Madhva Vaiṣṇavism was in vogue in the Vijayanagar Empire, especially in its western regions, it would not be out of place to give a short account of its main doctrines. In opposition to the pure monism of Śaṅkara, and the qualified monism of Rāmānuja, Madhva founded the Dvaita Vēdānta. He was a staunch advocate of dualism. He recognises five distinctions between God and individual soul, God and matter, the individual soul and matter, one individual soul and another, one material thing and another, to be eternal.[3] He looks upon the world as real and not as an illusory object.

Madhva recognises the following categories: subtance(dravya), quality (guṇa), action (karma), class character (sāmānya), particularity (visēṣa), qualified (visiṣṭa), whole (aṁśī), power (śakti), similarity (sādṛśya) and negation (abhāva). There are twenty substances: God, (Paramātma), Lakṣmī, souls, (jīva), uncreated space, prakṛti, sattva, rajas, tamas, Ahaṁkāra, buddhi, manas, the sense organs (indriya), the ele-

ments (bhūta) the subtle essences (tanmātras), nescience (avidya), uttered sounds (varṇa), darkness (aṁdhakāra), impressions (vāsanā), time (kālā) and reflection (pratibiṁba).[4] Uncreated space, Avyākṛtākāsa, is different from Bhūtākāsa and is unaffected by creation and destruction. Time or kālā is co-existent with it. It is a direct product of Prakṛiti, which is the material cause of the world.

Madhva recognises two kinds of reality,svataṁtra and parataṁtra. God is the svataṁtra or independent reality while the individual souls and the world are parataṁtra or dependent realities. God is free from all imperfections and possesses infinite excellent spiritual qualities. He is not nirguṇa, but is free from the attributes of Prakṛiti. He has being (sat), consciousness (cit) and bliss (Ānaṁda). He is different from all material objects, souls and prakṛti and has for his body knowledge and bliss. He has six qualities of Lordship. infinite knowledge, infinite power, infinite strength, infinite rulership: infinite vigour and infinite glory. He is the cause of creation, subsistence, dissolution, control, knowledge, nescience, bondage and liberation. He is the efficient cause (nimittakāraṇa) of the world while Prakṛiti is the material cause (Upādānakāraṇa). The highest and perfect Lord is **Viṣṇu** .

"Brahma, Śiva, and the greatest of the gods decay with the decay of their bodies;

"Greater than **these** is Hari, undecaying, because his body is for the sustenation of Lakṣmī;

"By reason of all his attributes, independence, power, knowledge, pleasure, and the rest;

"All they, all the deities, are in unlimited obedience to him." [5]

Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu, is eternally blessed and related to the Lord. They are eternally united with each other. In the Dvaita Vēdānta while Lord Viṣṇu was considered as the supreme deity and Lakṣmī as next to him, the third place was accorded to Vāyu. According to the scriptures Vāyu incarnated as Hanumān, Bhīma and Madhva "to justify the ways of God to Man". In Sarvadarsana Saṁgraha the following stanza of Mādhavācārya is quoted in support of this:

"The first incarnation of the Wind-god was he that bowed to the words of Rāma (Hanumat);the second was Bhīma;

"By this Madhva, who is the third, this book has been composed in regard to Kēsava." [6]

Māyā is the eternal power of God and he creates all things by the power of his will which is variously called 'Māyā', 'Avidya' and Prakṛiti.

The Śruti says that "all are known when one is known". When Brahman the cause is known, the effect, the world, is known. Brahman is real and the world is real. The world is created by God out of Prakṛiti and as Śaṅkara stated,is not a mirage. The effect is a real modification (Vikāra) of the cause which remains in fact (Avikṛta). Creation is a divine sport and an expression of God's overflowing bliss and mercy.[7]

The individual soul (jīva) is the knower, enjoyer and doer. He dwells in the body and the senses, and therefore subject to misery and happiness. The soul is eternal and its birth and death are due to its connection with the body. It has by nature perfect wisdom and bliss but they are clouded by karma. Though the soul is dependent on God, it is an active agent, performs right and wrong actions and acquires merit and demerit. The jīvas are different from God. There can never be an absolute identity between them. God is the worshipped master while the jīvas are worshipping servants. 'Tat-Tvam-Asi' does not imply the identity of soul with God but only suggests a similarity in essence with God (sa ātma tattvamasi).[8] There are three kinds of souls: nitya,mukta, and baddha. Amongst the last category some are eligible for liberation (muktiyōgya), while some are bound for saṁsāra and others are condemned to eternal damnation. Vāyu is the mediator between God and souls.

All knowledge emanates from Paramātman. It is of two kinds: (1) that which leads to Mōkṣa,(2) and that which is necessary for worldly existence. Viṣṇu bestows knowledge on those who are ignorant and Mōkṣa on those who have knowledge. Mōkṣa is attained by direct knowledge. What are needed for direct knowledge are:(1) vairāgya or renunciation of worldly enjoyment, (2) sama (equanimity), (3) dama, (self-control),(4) knowledge of Śāstras, (5) saraṇāgati or self-surrender (6) attendance on a guru, (7) acquisition of knowledge from the Guru, (8) Devotion to the Guru and other Ācāryas, (9)love of God (paramātmabhakti),(10) sympathy for those who are inferior, (11) performing the ordained rites without any desire,(12) avoidance of prohibited deeds,(13) knowledge of the comparative position of beings and Viṣṇu,(14) knowledge of the five eternal distinctions, (15) distinguishing Prakṛiti from Puruṣa, (16) reprobation of false doctrines,(17) resigning every act to Hari as done by him, (18) upāsana which is of two kinds: meditation (nididhyāsa) and study of Śāstras. All these eighteen ways lead to direct knowledge through which mōkṣa is gained.[9]

Madhva advocated stigmatisation, imposition of names and worship in order to attain emancipation. The Taittirīyaka Upaniṣad says: "He whose body is not branded, is raw and taste it not: votaries bearing it attain thereto." Imposition of names is giving the names of Viṣṇu to the

members of the family as a continual memorial of the names of the Supreme Lord. Worship is of ten kinds, viz.,with the voice; (1) veracity, (2) usefulness, (3)kindliness, (4)sacred study; with the body, (5) alms giving, (6) defence, (7)protection; with the common sensory, (8) mercy, (9) longing, and (10) faith.[10]

With this doctrinal background, Madhvaism attracted many followers into its fold. The spiritual successors and faithful exponents of Dvaita Vēdānta carried the message of Madhva. Padmanābha Tīrtha, Narahari Tīrtha, Akṣōbhya Tīrtha and Śrīpādarāya were instrumental in strengthening the foundations laid by Madhvācārya.[11]

JAYA TĪRTHA

A great dialectician and disciple of Akṣōbhya Tīrtha was Jaya Tīrtha.[12] He was rightly called the Tīkācārya (the commentator par excellence) and has to his credit many commentaries on almost all the important works of Madhva. He also wrote two independent works: Pramāṇa Paddhati and Vādāvaḷi. In his first work, Jaya Tīrtha examines the problems of theory of knowledge. The Vādāvaḷi containing about seven hundred granthas refutes the Advaitins doctrine of Māyā or the illusory nature of the universe. The core of Dvaita Vedanta establishes the ultimate reality of the universe as created by Lord Visnu, the abode of infinite auspicious qualities. So the Dvaitins contend that if the universe turns out to be an illusory one, its creator also lapses into an illusion. Consequently Jaya Tīrtha opposes the arguments of the Advaitins against the falsity of the universe in his Vādāvaḷi. The opening verse of Vādāvaḷi indicates the thesis of the work Jaya Tīrtha proposed to write.[13] Twenty-two works are known to have been written by Jaya Tīrtha.[14]

Vādirāja eulogises the services rendered by Jaya Tīrtha to the cause of Dvaita Vēdānta in his Tīrthaprabhandha.[15]

VIDYĀDHIRĀJA TĪRTHA (A.D.1388 - A.D.1412)

Vidyādhirāja Tīrtha, the immediate disciple and successor of Jaya Tīrtha[16],flourished between A.D.1388 and 1412. He belonged to the Baḍaganāḍu Karnāṭaka group. In A.D. 1409 he received a gift of 200 canties of land from Dēvarāya Mahārāya.[17] Though no direct evidence is available of his works, there are references to them in the works of the

later commentators. He composed three works known as Chandōgya Bhāṣya Tīka, Gīta Vivṛti and Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya. Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha refers to the first work in his commentary on the Taittirīya Upaniṣad Bhāṣya. Of these works, the Viṣṇu Sahasranāma is important from the fact that it occupied a high place in Madhva thought and Vidyādhirāja was the earliest commentator on it.[18] The commentary opens with an invocation to Viṣṇu, Vyāsa, Madhva and Sarasvatī. The substance and significance of the thousand names of the Lord are well brought out by the author. According to Madhva, each of the thousand names afford innumerable interpretations. However, Vidyādhirāja deals only with the etymology of the names and gives no importance to the grammar involved.[19] Vidyādhirāja died at Ergola near Malkhed where his mortal remains lie entombed.[20]

It was during the time of Vidyādhirāja Tīrtha that the first bifurcation of the Madhva Maṭhas took place. According to tradition Vidyādhirāja ordained Rājēndra Tīrtha, one of his disciples, to succeed him on the pontifical throne. But when Vidyādhirāja fell ill and the time came for formally handing over the Maṭha to Rājēndra Tīrtha, the latter, who was on tour at the critical juncture, did not obey the orders of his guru who directed his disciple to come back to headquarters. So Vidyādhirāja was forced to ordain another disciple, Kavīndra. This selection of Kavīndra as the successor of Vidyādhirāja, leaving Rājēndra Tīrtha, resulted in the bifurcation of the Madhva Maṭhas, namely Vyāsarāya Maṭha at Sosale headed by Rājēndra Tīrtha and Uttarādi Maṭha presided by Kavīndra.[21]

VIJAYADHVAJA TĪRTHA (AD.1410-50)

According to the genealogical tables of the Pejāvar Maṭha of Uḍipi, Vijayadhvaja was the seventh pontifical successor of Madhva. He belonged to an order of Bālasanyāsins.[22]

Vijayadhvaja's name is best remembered in the Dvaita world for his monumental commentary on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa called Padaratnāvaḷi. It is the earliest commentary of the Dvaita writers on the Bhāgavata. Vijayadhvaja made use of Madhva's Bhāgavata Tātparya extensively. It appears from the introductory verses of the work that there existed another commentary on the Purāṇa, written by Vijaya Tīrtha.

VYĀSA TĪRTHA (AD.1370-1400)

This Vyāsa Tīrtha whoflourishedbetween A.D.1370 and A.D.1400 should

be distinguished from his namesake, Vyāsa Tīrtha, or Vyāsarāya, the brightest star in the firmament of Dvaita Vēdānta. Many writers were confused with these two names and identified them as one. They faltered on the latter, works really written by the former. Aufrecht,[23] P.P.S. Sastri,[24] Abhyankar[25] and Dr.N.V.Ramanayya[26] supported their identity. According to Dr.B.N.K.Sharma this Vyāsa Tīrtha who preceded the one that played a great role in the annals of Vijayanagara empire was not a pontiff of any Mutt and was what is called in Kannada a "Bidi Sanyāsi" (stray disciple).[27]

Vyāsa Tīrtha was a sound scholar if not a prolific writer like his successor. He is credited with glosses to the eight Upaniṣads out of the ten. These Upaniṣads were originally commented upon by Madhva.

VYĀSARĀYA

The greatest Madhva saint who flourished during the time of the Sāḷuva and Tuḷuva dynasties was Vyāsarāya. Known as Vyāsarāya or Vyāsarāja, he was the disciple of Brahmaṇya Tīrtha, fourth in descent from Rājēndra Tīrtha, the Guru of Viṣṇudāsācārya. The outstanding personality of Vyāsarāya among the Vaiṣṇava Pontiffs of the school of Madhvācārya heralded a glorious renaissance in the religious history of the Vijayanagara empire.

Vyāsarāya was born in or about A.D. 1446 in Bannūr, a village about six miles north of Sosale, in the Mysore District.[28] He was the youngest of the three children of Ballanna Sumati and Akkamma, born with the blessings of Brahmaṇya Tīrtha. At an early age he mastered the Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Alaṁkāra and grammar and went home from his Gurukula. About this time Brahmaṇya Tīrtha sent word to Ballanna Sumati demanding the fulfilment of his promise that he would present his second son to the Guru. In accordance with the promise, Ballanna presented Vyāsarāya to Brahmaṇya Tīrtha who was living at Cannapaṭṭana.[29]

Impressed with the intellectual attainments of his ward, Brahmaṇya Tīrtha was secretly thinking of ordaining him as a monk. Vyāsarāya divined the intentions of his Guru and in order to avoid the robes of a monk fled away from the Āsrama. But he soon realised that God Viṣṇu had ordained that he should accept the life of a monk and returned to the Guru. Not long after the incident Vyāsarāya was ordained a monk and on the death of Brahmaṇya Tīrtha in A.D. 1467 succeeded to the Pontificate.[30] Soon he went to Kañci and spent many years studying the six systems of philosophy under the most eminent teachers. It was

probably here that Vyāsarāya acquired mastery of the Advaita and Visiṣṭādvaita schools and the Bhaṭṭa and Navya Nyāya schools. This knowledge helped him, later, to produce monumental works like the Nyāyāmṛta, the Tātparya Candrika and the Tarkatāṇḍava.

After the completion of his studies at Kañci, Vyāsarāya went in A.D. 1474 to Mulbāgal, the seat of the Madhva teacher Śrīpādarāja.[31] After imparting the necessary training to his disciple to prove to be a worthy representative of his school, Śrīpādarāja directed him to proceed to the court of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha who was ruling Caṅdragiri as the viceroy of Virūpākṣa II. As Vyāsarāya probably spent a long time at Mulbāgal, he must have reached Caṅdragiri in about A.D. 1486, about the time of the usurpation of Vijayanagara throne by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha.[32]

It was according to the desire of Śrīpādarāja that Vyāsarāya went to Sāḷuva Narasiṁha who succeeded his father Guṇḍa III on the throne of Caṅdragiri about A.D. 1456.[33] Śrīpādarāja told him, "As the king is the protecting dam for all righteousness, it becomes your duty to stay always at the court of the king."[34] In the court of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, Vyāsarāya occupied the position that Dattātrēya occupied at the court of Arjuna, the son of Krita Vīrya.

Vyāsarāya commanded equal respect from the successors of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. To Immaḍi Narasiṁha, Vyāsarāya was like Bṛhaspati to Indra.[35] He continued to be highly honoured by his general and regent Narasa Nāyaka. When the latter became the de facto ruler in A.D. 1493 soon after the settlement which he concluded with Tamma Rāya or Immaḍi Narasiṁha, he invited Vyāsarāya to proceed to Vijayanagara. At the persistent invitations of Narasa and his ministers, Vyāsarāya finally left Caṅdragiri for Vijayanagara and made it his permanent residence for the rest of his life.

When Vyāsarāya entered Vijayanagara he was received by King Narasa himself attended by a large retinue.[36] King Narasa worshipped the Madhva Guru, we are told, as Yudhiṣṭira adored Bādarāyaṇa. The King received instruction from him with illustrations from the lives of the great kings of the past.

However, the place of honour given to Vyāsarāya did not remain unchallenged at Vijayanagara. Many scholars from different parts of India challenged his erudition in disputations. One such opponent was Basava Bhaṭṭa from Kaliṅga. After trying his strength for thirty days, he was completely vanquished in the debate by the Madhva Guru. It is believed that Vyāsarāya obtained a Śiva liṅga from Basava Bhaṭṭa, probably the liṅga he wore on his person, as a trophy. Even today this liṅga is wor-

shipped on Mahāśivarātri day in the Vyāsarāya Maṭha at Uḍipi.[37]

About A.D.1500, the year in which Narasa came into conflict with the Gajapati King, Vyāsarāya started installing 732 Hanumān idols all over the kingdom, beginning with Yantrōddhāraka Hanumān at Haṁpi.[38] They were obviously installed to consolidate the empire of whichKing Narasa Nāyaka was the head and himself the guardian saint.

The peerless age of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya commencing from A.D. 1509 immortalised the personality of Vyāsarāya in the religious history of the empire. It is a remarkable fact that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, essentially a Viśiṣṭādvaitin, professed greatest respect for Vyāsarāya. Vyāsayōgicaritam states that he considered the Madhva guru as his 'Kuladēvata' and vowed to devote everything he had for the worship of Vyāsarāya.[39]

An inscription dated A.D. 1513 found on the south wall of the Maṇḍapa in front of the Viṭṭalasvāmi temple at Haṁpi, recording the grant of Sāyanapura village to the temple, refers to Vyāsarāya as the guru of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

Viniyōga nānāvargada naivēdya saha,

guruvugaḷu Vyāsarāyārige pālu.[40]

This confirms the statements made in the Vyāsayōgicaritam regarding the acceptance of Vyāsarāya as his guru by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

Vyāsarāya was the recipient of many royal gifts. In A.D. 1511 he received the Pūlambākam village from Kṛṣṇadēvarāya which he presented to God Varadarāja of Kaṅci for conducting the Āvaṇi festival in his own name. He also obtained the King's sanction for presenting a Śēṣavāhana of gold, to be used for the God on the fourth day of all festivals.[41] Another village called Kannērumaḍugu situated in the Kanakagiri country was granted to him in A.D. 1520.[42]

Vyāsarāya was held in such high esteem that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya performed his ratnābhiṣēka for him.[43]

Sōmanātha, in the beginning of the 6th chapter, has given a graphic account of the spectacular event.[44] While music was played and Vēdic hymns were chanted, Kṛṣnarāya himself took a golden bowl and showered gems on Vyāsarāya as the pārijāta tree showers its flowers on the peak of a guardian mountain.

However, it was during the period of Kuhuyōga that the influence of Vyāsarāya was highly felt at Vijayanagara. In the reign of Kṛṣṇarāya there occurred a planetary conjunction denominated as Kuhuyōga which prognosticated evil to the ruling monarch. In order to save himself from

the calamity, Kṛṣṇarāya is said to have placed the ascetic Vyāsarāya on the imperial throne at the time.[45]

According to Swamikannu Pillay's Indian Ephemeris the astrologically inauspicious time known as Kuhuyōga occurred on the 4th February, 1524 A.D.[46] There is a verse in Āmuktamālyada which says that when three kinds of catastrophes occur, the king should liberally spend money to appease the Brahmans, the Dēvatas and the Agni, with feeding, sacrifice and hōma.[47] Venkoba Rau infers that this is a reminiscence of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's own experience of the dreaded period of Kuhuyōga.[48] B.N.K. Sharma adds that "the appellation 'Vyāsarāja' and the custom of Divaṭṭige salām which is to this day kept up in the Vyāsarāya Maṭha at Sosale, when the Svāmi seated on his throne is hailed at a daily darbar every evening, as the Lord seated on the Vijayanagar - Karnāṭaka Vidyāsiṁhasana, serves to keep in memory the forgotten past."[49]

However, this tradition of the temporary occupation of the Karnāṭaka throne by Vyāsarāya is not attested to by either contemporary literary or inscriptional records. Particularly the silence of Vyāsayōgicaritam about this tradition which glorifies the cause of Vyāsarāya makes the event very doubtful.

Moreover, the argument that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya has referred to the period of Kuhuyōga, when he referred to the three kinds of catastrophes in his Āmuktamālyada, is far-fetched. According to Dr.Ramacandraiya Ūruganti, the inception of Āmuktamālyada took place in November, A.D. 1519,[50] and the work must have been completed by Kṛṣṇarāya by A.D. 1520. So he could not have reflected about an incident which was still in the womb of the future.

Vyāsarāya received the village Beṭṭakoṇḍa from Kṛṣṇadēvarāya in A.D. 1525-26. It was renamed Vyāsasamudra after the donee.[51] Probably this was the last grant made to Vyāsarāya by Kṛṣṇadēvaraya.

Vyāsarāya made some gifts to the Veṅkaṭēśvara and Gōviṅdarāja temples at Tirumala and Tirupati. In A.D.1524 he paid 1,400 narpanam for certain offerings to Śrī Veṅkaṭesa and Śrī Gōviṅdarāja on the prescribed days.[52] In A.D. 1528 he granted the village Oḍḍampaṭṭu for the purpose of conducting the special festival on every full moon day in honour of Gōvindarāja at Tirupati.[53] In these inscriptions, he is described as Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakācārya, Padvākya pramānagñya, Durvādigarva Śarva-svāpahāra, Śrīmat- Vaiṣṇava Siddhānta-pratiṣṭāpanācārya, Sakala-vidvajjanamanah-padmavana-saupastika and the disciple of Śrīmat Brahmaṇyatīrtha Śrīpāda Uḍaiyar. Vyāsarāya continued to be honoured even after the death of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. It was

during the reign of Acyutarāya that the image of Yōga Varada Narasiṁha was set up by Vyāsarāya in the court-yard of the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple at Haṁpi in A.D. 1532.[54]

After a glorious career of about ninety-four years, Vyāsarāya passed away about A.D. 1540. According to Dr.N.V.Ramaṇayya, Vyāsarāya "appears to have breathed his last a little later than 1532".[55]

However, Puraṁdara Dāsa states that Vyāsarāya passed away at Vijayanagara on the fourth day of the dark fortnight of Phalguṇa, in Vilambi, corresponding to Saturday, the 8th of March,1539 A.D.[56]

"Even today the pious pilgrim who goes to the Paṁpā kshētra(Haṁpi) is shown the tomb of this great religious teacher and scholar on an island called "Nava briṁdāvan" in the Tuṅgabhadra river about half a mile to the east of Ānegondi.[57]

Vyāsarāya is a prolific writer and contributed many works of dialectic criticism following in the footsteps of Jaya Tīrtha. He composed eight works among which the most important were Nyāyāmṛta, Tarkatāṁḍava and Caṁdrikā collectively called "Vyāsa-traya". Next come his Bhēdōjjīvana among his minor compositions. He is also credited with highly abstruse glosses on Khaṁḍanatraya and the Tattvavivēka.

Among these, the Nyāyāmṛta, Vyāsarāya's magnum opus is a full-fledged defence of Āṁandatīrtha's realistic metaphysics. It is chiefly aimed at the Advaitins and their theory of the falsity or unreality of the world. The work is divided into four chapters or paricchedas. In the first chapter Vyāsarāya discusses the various definitions of the concept of unreality and refutes them. The second pariccheda is devoted by Vyāsarāya to the condemnation of the Advaitic doctrines Nirguṇatva, Nirākāratva, Svaprakāśatva and Avācyatva of Brahman and he interpreted these concepts from the theistic stand point. He also establishes the validity of the Paṁcabhēda or five-fold difference which has the sanction of the three Pramāṇas, viz.,scripture, perception and inference. He denies the idea of the efficient and material causality of the Brahman.

The third chapter deals with the significance of the scriptural injunctions as instruments of religious instruction, and self- discipline towards the realisation of God. The last chapter explains the goal of human life, namely,Mukti from the Madhva standpoint. Vyāsarāya criticises the Advaitic view of Mōkṣa as cessation of Avidyā.

Dr. B.N.K.Sharma pays a tribute to Nyāyāmṛta in the following words, "Vyāsarāya is not merely the founder of this new dialectic of his school but also the fountain head of the entire controversial literature of the

Dvaita-Advaita Schools subsequent to him.[58] His work was the starting point of a series of brilliant dialectical classics, whose composition and study became the chief intellectual occupation of the savants of the next three centuries after him."

The Tātparya Candrikā, familiarly known as Candrikā, is a commentary on Jayatīrtha's Tattva Prakāsika. Dr.B.N.K.Sharma says it is neither called Tātparyasaṁgraha [59] nor Madhva Tātparyacandrikā[60] as some writers imagine. The Candrikā enriched the philosophy of Brahmasūtras by making a critical and comparative study of the commentaries of Saṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva on the Brahmasūtras.

The work, containing 3450 granthas, gives the message that the philosophy of Madhva is in perfect harmony with the Brahmasūtras. Vyāsarāya also opened new vistas of interpretation of the Madhva Siddhānta in the light of Pūrva Mīmāmsa literature which represents a new phase of development in Dvaita Vēdānta and its literature.[61]

The last one of the major works is Tarkatāṇḍava. The target of the Dvaitin here is the Nyāya Vaiśēṣika. According to tradition the followers of Nyāya Vaiśēṣika school were happy and gratified when Vyāsarāya attacked the Advaitins in his Nyāyāmṛta. But when they fell victim to his criticism in Tarkatāṇḍava they opposed the work vehemently.[62] Vyāsarāya criticised the views of the great Nyāya writers such as Udayana, Gaṅgēsa Upādhyāya and Pakṣadhara.

Vyāsarāya has written highly technical glosses on four Prakaraṇas of Madhva, the three Khaṇḍanas and the Tattvavivēka. These are collectively called Maṅdāramaṅjari. It is not a title of any one of these works as is presumed.[63] Māyāvāda Khaṇḍana Maṅdāramaṅjari contains 500 granthas. It is a very tough gloss and cannot be easily comprehended by an average student.

Upādhikhaṇḍana Maṅdāramaṅjari contains 1500 granthas. Prapaṅca Mithyātvānumāna Khaṇḍana Maṅdāramaṅjari, also known as Bhāvaprakāsika, contains 600 granthas.

Bhēdōjjīvana was the last work of Vyāsarāya as is evidenced from the references to the Nyāyāmṛta and the Maṅdāramaṅjari. It is a short Prakaraṇa in 275 granthas establishing the Bhēda doctrine of Madhva on the strength of the three Pramāṇas; Sense-perception, Reason and Revelation. "Within a short compass, he has covered the ground of the entire Monistic literature pushed into contemporary prominence and argued an unexpurgated case for the Realism of Madhva".[64]

Thus Vyāsarāya stands as the most redoubtable champion of the

Madhva system and his contributions to the Dvaita philosophy are unique. "The logical skill and depth of acute dialectical thinking shown by Vyāsarāya stands almost unrivalled in the whole of Indian thought."[65]

VIJAYĪNDRA TĪRTHA (A.D.1514-95)

According to tradition, Vijayīndra, originally a disciple of Vyāsarāya, had his early training from Vyāsarāya and succeeded Surēndra Tīrtha of the Purvadi or Sumatīndra Maṭha.[66]

He was a contemporary and critic of Appayya Dīkṣita who was a great champion of Saiva and Advaita systems in the 16th century. He is said to have tried conclusions with the teachers of other schools. A record of Sevappa Nāyaka of Tanjore dated A.D. 1580 states that "like the three sacred fires, the Lord of ascetics, Vijayīndra Tīrtha, the leader of the Vaiṣṇavas, proficient in all Śāstras, Tātācārya and the sole emperor of Saiva and Advaita thought, Appayya Dīkṣita used to meet at the court of Sevappa Nāyaka and hold discourses on the doctrines and relative merits of their respective schools of philosophy."[67]

Sevappa's greatest protege seems to have been Vijayīndra from whom the Ācārya received the village of Arivilimaṅgaḷam in A.D.1577.[68] The Arivilimaṅgaḷam plates establish his fame as a reputed scholar and a defender of the faith of Madhva against the Advaitins. According to tradition, once he held a disputation with a Vīrasaiva guru at Kumbhakōṇam. The condition of the disputation was that "if the Saiva guru won, Vijayīndra should join his Maṭha, but if, on the other hand, the latter triumphed, the former should make over all his properties to his victor. The discussion lasted 11 days at the end of which the Saiva guru was worsted. Consequently Vijayīndra entered into possession of the Saiva Maṭha at Kumbhakōṇam.[69]

Like Vyāsarāya, Vijayīndra was a prolific writer and composed nearly eighteen works. Most of these are not published . They are the following:-

1.Adhikāraṇamāla

2.Caṅdrikōdāhṛtanyāyavivaraṇam

3.Appayya Kapōla Capēṭika[70]

4.Madhvādhva Kaṇṭakōdhāra

(also known as Madhvataṅtra Mukha Bhūṣanam)

5.Cakra Mīmāmsa

6. Bhēda Vidyā Vilāsa

7. Nyāya Mukura

8. Paratattva Prakāśika[71]

9. Nyāya Saṅgraha

10.Siddhānta Sārāsāra Vivēka

11.Ānanda Tāratamya Vādārtha

12.Nyāyādhvadīpikā, Śrutitātparya Kaumudī

Some of these works were intended to silence the critics of Madhva Siddhānta. Appayya Dīkṣita was a relentless critic and Vijayīndra found it imperative to uphold the prestige of Madhva and his commentators. Appayya Kapōla Capēṭika, as the title indicates, was directed against the criticism of Appayya Dīkṣita. Akin to it was Madhvādhva Kantakōdhara. It was a reply to the Madhva Tantra Mukha Bhanga of Appayya Dīkṣita. Paratatva Prakāsika was a rejoinder to Appayya's Siva Tattva Vivēka which establishes the superiority of Siva. Siddhānta Sārāsāra Vivēka was similarly aimed to pound the Sivādvaita of Srīkaṇṭha. The Visiṣṭād-vaitins defended their system with all their available resources and flocked to the religious teachers of their school for material and moral support. The lead was taken by Kumbhakōṇam Tātācārya with his Vijayaīndra Parājaya.

Upasaṁhāra Vijaya was another reply to Appayya Dīkṣita's Upakrama Parākrama. This was an ostensible attempt to prove the superiority of the Upasaṁhāra or the concluding part of a literary composition. This was a reply to Appayya Dīkṣita's Upakramas, or the initial statement.

Vāgvaikharī was a concise manual of 1900 granthas. It refutes the Advaita doctrine of Nirguṇa Brahman and establishes God as endowed with auspicious attributes. Nārāyaṇa Sabdārtha Nirvacanam as the title indicates treats the etymology of the word Nārāyaṅa applied to Viṣṇu.

Vijayīndra was not only a great theologian and philosopher but was also a notable poet. Three works of repute are ascribed to him; Subhadrā Dhanañjaya, a Sanskrit drama describing the love story of Arjuna and Subhadra which consummated their marriage; Ubhayagrastarāhūdaya, an allegorical drama composed as a counterblast to the Prabōdha Caṅdrōdaya; and the Saṅkalpasūryōdaya.[72]

Vijayīndra was many-sided writer, proficient in all the arts and rightly

deserved the title Sarvatantrasvatantra applied to him[73]

VĀDIRĀJA

Vādirāja, a worthy successor of Vyāsarāya and a disciple of Vāgīśa Tīrtha, was a great exponent of Dvaita system. The Madhva tradition believes that he was a co-student of Vyāsarāya though no mention of Vyāsarāya as his Guru is made in his compositions.[74] On the basis of epigraphic evidence, he may be placed in the 17th century. Inscriptions from the Kṛṣṇa temple at Uḍipi enable us to fix the date of Vādirāja. A record dated A.D. 1613 mentions Vēdavēdyatīrtha as the disciple of Vādirāja.[75] Another epigraph dated A.D.1614 of the reign of Veṅkaṭa I of Keladi registering a grant of Veṅkaṭa to the Kṛṣṇa temple at Uḍipi, refers to Vēdavēdyatīrtha, pupil of Vādirāja as the priest of the temple.[76] This shows that Vādirāja lived upto A.D. 1614.[77]

Vādirāja hailed from a village called Hūvinakera in the Kuṇdapur taluk of the South Kanara District. He is stated to have been a Tuḷu Brahmin by birth.[78] Vādirāja spread the gospel of Madhva in South and North Kanara by establishing a Maṭha at Sode, 13 miles from Sirsi in North Kanara and engaging the leaders of other creeds in philosophical disputation. In this great task he had to encounter great opposition from the Jainas, Advaitins and Liṅgāyats who established themselves in South and North Kanara. He expressed his dissatisfaction with the attitude of his neighbouring chiefs who were not well disposed towards the Madhva Saṁpradāya.[79] This probably refers to the Kēladi chiefs, who were ardent followers of Saivism. The Vādirāja Guruvara Caritāmṛta describes how Vādirāja endeavoured to shatter the power of the Liṅgāyata gurus in the territory of Sode and his ultimate success in converting the ruler Arasappa Nāyaka to the Brahmanical faith. As a mark of the victory of Madhva doctrine, Vādirāja consecrated a temple to Trivikrama at Sode in A.D. 1582, at the request of Arasappa, who made liberal grants for its maintenance in 1593.[80] Vādirāja involved the great exponent of Śivādvaita doctrine, Appayya Dīkṣita, in a debate.[81] It is believed that due to the efforts of Vādirāja and Jīvōttamma Tīrtha, the head of the Konkaṇi or Gauḍa Sārasvata Brahman community of the West Coast, the fame of Madhva religion was enhanced and attracted large numbers of followers to its fold.

Vādirāja is gifted with a spontaneity of expression and an intense personal favour coupled with a passionate faith in his doctrine. He claims no credit for his views as he feels a sense of subservience to the personality

and philosophy of Madhva. His modesty endeared him to the hearts of many who became his followers. He exibited great catholicism by admitting to his fold many classes of people who approached him for spiritual uplift. According to tradition, the Maṭṭu and Kōṭa Brahmans of South Kanara owe their faith to the influence of Vādirāja.

Vādirāja was a prolific writer and is credited with more than sixty works.[82] His major works are twenty in number and about a dozen are original. The magnum opus of Vādirāja's contributions is Yuktimallikā. This monumental work contains 537 slokas and is divided into five chapters called Saurabhas; Guṇa, Śuddhi, Bhēda, Viśva and Phala. It was commented upon by Surōttama Tīrtha, the brother of Vādirāja. It was Vādirāja who brought the gospel of Madhva to the service of the common man by translating the Mahābhārata Tātparya Nirṇaya into Kannada.

Yuktimallikā, an elaboration of the Brahma Sūtras, as interpreted by Madhva, established that the Brahman is full of attributes and free from all imperfections, in the first and second chapters. The third refutes the identity theory of the Jīva and Brahman and the fourth proves the reality of the cosmos. The last chapter presents the conception of Mōkṣa according to Dvaita system, Madhva as an avatar of Vāyu and the Madhva Saṁpradāya of branding the body with the sacred symbols of Viṣṇu.

Ekōna Paṅcapādīka, a criticism of the Paṅcadīpika of Padmapāda on the Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya of Saṅkara, was another milestone in the field of Dvaita literature. Unfortunately, the manuscript is not available though reference to it occurs in one of the introductory verses of Vādirāja's Vivaraṇavraṇam. This Vivaraṇavraṇam is an elaborate criticism of the Vivaraṇa school of Prākāśātman. A Dēvanagari manuscript of it is preserved in the Mysore Oriental Library.

Nyāyaratnāvaḷi criticises the doctrines of Advaita. It has 901 anuṣṭubhs distributed in five chapters.

Cakra Mīmāmsa, containing 72 anuṣṭubhs, was the work of Vādirāja himself.[83] It deals with the subject of Taptamudrāṅkaṇa. The author says that the followers of Nimbārka, Viṣṇusvāmin and Rāmānuja as well as a certain section of Advaitins branded themselves with the Mudras. Śrutitattva Prākāśa contains 507 anuṣṭubh verses and deals with the dualistic interpretation of the monistic texts Nēhanānāsti, Aham Brahmasmi, Ekamēvādvitīyam, Tatvam Asi, Kēvalōnirguṇasca.

Devotional Movement of the Haridāsakūṭa

The Haridāsas were those saints of the Madhva Saṁpradāya who preached the gospel of Bhakti to Lord Hari with their mystic experiences. The Dāsakūṭa or the order of the Dāsas was composed of saintly souls belonging to different communities. Viṭhala of Pandharpur was the deity of their hearts whose name was adopted as the nom-de-plume by some of the Haridāsas. The Haridāsas of Karnāṭaka were thus the first to develop the cult of devotion to Viṭhala and make it a living faith in the Vijayanagara empire.

The essence of their Adhyātma Anubhava or mystic experience was the existence of an Omnipresent, Omniscient soul with the Supreme Spirit through Śraddha and devotion. A true Haridāsa is required to have faith in Śruti,Smṛti and Purāṇa, worship of Hari, self-purification and service to humanity through Hari. Every human being has access to this Dīkṣa. But this gave rise to two different groups of Haridāsas-Vyāsakūṭa and Dāsakūṭa. The followers of Vyāsakūṭa were well-versed in the Vēdas and Darśanas and gave importance to Sanskrit while the followers of Dāsakūṭa spread the spirit of Madhva thought through the vernacular to the masses.[84]

The Haridāsas produced a rich crop of devotional literature in the form of Kīrtanas, simple, melliflous and melodious, which had a tremendous emotional appeal. Like their Mahārastra counterparts, the Haridāsas believed in the divine nature of music as a means to self-realisation and salvation. Their main source of inspiration was the doctrines of Madhva. The Haridāsas believed that the soul has to pass through the Dark Night of Saṁsāra engulfed with passion and worldly strife to reach the goal that is eternal and infinite. They considered Ahaṁkāra or Ego as sin from the shackles of which, the soul should be redeemed to reach the Real. The Sarvōttamma of the Haridāsas is more fragrant than jasmine or sandal, something glorious beyond all imagination. They visualise God in myriads of colours and in His manifestations of pure effulgence with which the whole universe is filled.

Śrīpādarāja (1450 A.D.), Śrī Vyāsarāja (1447-1539 A.D.), Vādirāja (1480-1600), Puraṁdara (1484-1564) and Kanakadāsa (1509-1607) were some of the great names in the Haridāsa movement.

Śrīpādarāya

Like Narahari Tīrtha, Śrīpādarāya realises the defects in himself and repents for them: "You are addressing me as a Vaiṣṇava for nothing--Me, who possess no knowledge of Para-Brahmā. I put the head- mark having washed my face, but did I read the Śāstra of Sukhatīrtha (Madhvācārya)

only as a matter of enhancing beauty I wear the garland (of Tulsi), but did I immerse myself in the ocean of Bhakti (devotion)? I exhausted myself in the village gossip, but did I take shelter at the feet of Nārāyaṇa? I was duped by the sweet talk of women, but did I respect the commands of the Āryans? Have I really realised Him as being known by the Vēdas alone? Saying that the world is real, having understood the five differences (Pañcha bhēda), forsaking the eight (love, hatred, etc.), and having heard and thought about the contents of the Bhāgavata--did I realise that Śrī Hari is superior to Laxmi, who is superior to Brahmā, who is superior to Rudra, who is superior to Indra, who is superior to the Gandharvas, who themselves are superior to all men? Did I, who bathed in the Ganges only to wash off the mud on my body, take the holy bath? And did I associate myself and travel in the company of the devotees of Śrī Raṅga Vithala?"[85] The songs of this Haridāsa constitute infact a symphony of expressions of mingled joy and strains of pessimism. He is a believer in the theory of rebirth and karma.

Śrīpādarāya says that the name of Raṅga Viṭhala is the best adornment.[86]

Vyāsarāya

Like Śrīpādarāya, Vyāsarāya also experienced the Dark Night and in an abject state of helplessness implores the mercy of God for protection. He feels that ritual or the external perfection like bathing, fasting and Sanyāsa are of no avail without the grace of God. "Thou Thyself does protect me, Oh. Hari! As for me, I do not find any means for that. If I want to win Thee over by means of bathing, a frog always does it. If I want to win Thee over by counting beads, my mind is not within my power. If I say that fasting alone is the means of securing Thee, a serpent observes it always. If Sanyāsa be a means of realizing Thee, the wicked Rāvaṇa also had become a Sanyāsin. If the offering of a bride is a means of pleasing Thee, then Kaṁsa had offered his daughter to Jarāsaṅdha. If prosperity be called as the means of winning Thee over, then the wicked Duryōdhana also was so full of it. If I want to join Thee by the force of Brotherhood, then I find that Śisupāla had it."[87]

Like a true Madhva, Vyāsarāya entreats God to grant him the sectarian marks and proficiency of the Madhva thought and philosophy.

"Bestow upon me this much in my future births, Thou art void of any motive, so favour me (with this much) kindly: The most prominent Gōpi mark (on the forehead), the twelve marks (on my body), the garland of Tulsi in the neck, the Sudarsana mark (on the right shoulder) and the Śaṅkha (mark) on the left. Bestow upon me such a Vaiṣṇava life of

manifestation and rejoining. Give me the holy understanding in every birth-- that the world which is perceived consists of gradations, that the five main Distinctions (pañca- bhēdas) are real, and that Rudra and other deities have taken shelter at Thy feet eternally. (Let me have) love for all the learned and the best of men: and (let me possess) the idea of the Chief--Preceptorship in Sukhatīrtha (Madhvācārya). Oh Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the Bestower of Salvation, favour me with the nine kinds of devotion, void of impurities.[88] Vyāsarāya considers Śrī Hari as all powerful, without whose grace and assistance one cannot survive in this world.[89]

Purañdara Dāsa

Purañdara Dāsa was a prominent name in the history of Dāsakūṭa who exercised a powerful influence on the mass consciousness in Karnāṭak.[90] It is said that he visited Vijayanagara in the time of Acyutarāya.[91] He is credited with the authorship of 4,75,000 songs.[92] He advocated self- surrender to God in the following song:

"I have approached your feet, O! Veṅkaṭaramaṇa, my God of the loving and lotus-like eyes and abode of all that is good. I am a waif, my God and you are my one refuge; take pity on me of your grace and look on me as your own. Think not of my failing, my God, you who sleep on the serpent, O, Great one! You look after whole nations; even so look after me. Sleeper on the serpent, Lord of mèrcy, Great Hayavadana." [93]

The mystic saint Purañdara implores the power of God to make the devotee believe in Him in addition to his own efforts to turn to God.

"Make me believe in Thee. If I am enamoured make me a beggar. If I beg make others not to give me anything. If others offer me food, make (me) half-starved. If the belly is filled up, make (me) as not to get sufficient clothing. If clothing is obtained, make me as not to get sufficient place to live. If a sufficient place is not obtained, Oh Raṅga, give (me) an abode at Thy feet." [94]

Regarding the doctrine of Rebirth and Karma, he says that one must suffer for one's past actions, without being helped by an external force. One should live in the saṁsāra as ordained by his previous Karma.

Purañdara believed that knowledge is a sufficient means to attain salvation. One need not try to escape from the human bonds like parents, wife and children. He does not believe in orthodoxy and ceremonial purity. The non- recognition of castes was stressed in the cause of liberation by Purañdara. "What if, of any caste? Let him be anybody, if he has realised the existence of God inside. If a sugar-cane is bent, is its juice also bent?"[95]

According to him moments pass away from our life as drops of water from a pitcher with a hole. He therefore advises mankind to watch the different places, times, and conditions which mark the different phases of human life. This will afford good food for introspection in the evening of human life.[96]

He travelled all over India visiting the holy places and singing the glory of Śrī Hari. At last he settled down at Haṁpi in the divine shelter of his Guru, Vyāsarāya, where his quarters are still shown as Puraṁdara Maṇṭapa.[97]

"Of the Vaishnava saints, he is perhaps the least doctrinnaire; he used terms popular among Liṅgāyats also, and told Liṅgāyats that he was himself a Jaṅgama."[98]

Kanaka Dāsa

Kanaka Dāsa of Kaginele, one of the well-known disciples of Vyāsarāya, was born in A.D. 1509 to a shepherd couple, Bīrappa and Bāchchamma, at Bada in the district of Dharwar. Accounts differ as to his early life and initiation into Dāsakūṭa. Very early in childhood Kanaka lost his parents and became a mendicant when his ancestral patrimony was appropriated by his relatives. During his peregrinations he found a Kēsava idol which he installed (for worship) in a temple. He renounced the world consequently and became a devotee of Lord Hari.[99] He was considered to be a Daṇṇāyaka originally and received the Divine Initiation into the Bhakti Saṁpradāya, after some disappointments in life.[100]

In his early life Kanaka was a follower of Rāmānuja[101] but was weaned away to Madhvaism under the influence of Vyāsarāya. After his initiation into Dāsakūṭa in A.D. 1525 he appeared to be more of a Madhva mystic rather than a Madhva dualist. He was a great writer and composed the following works: Mōhana Taraṅgiṇi (River of Delight) consisting of Puranic stories, chiefly about Kṛṣṇa, Nala Caritre in Satpadi, Hari Bhakti Sara dealing with morals, devotion and renunciation (Nīti, Bhakti, Vairāgya).[102] Of all his works, the most fascinating was Rāma Dhānya Caritre, (The story of Rāma's Chosen Grain), in which he gives an ingenious and religious interpretation (derivation) of the word Rāgi which is the name of the grain consumed by the majority of people in Karnāṭaka. The theme of the poem is the meeting of Rāma with a group of ascetics in a hermitage when Rāma was treated with a feast. The argument regarding the relative superiority of the grains rāgi and rice followed the question of Rāma which makes the best food of all grains.[103]

A tradition about the great devotion of Kanaka Dāsa has survived

even today. The story goes that when Kanaka was refused admission into the Kṛṣṇa Temple at Uḍipi, he went behind the temple and started invoking the Lord. Thereupon Lord Kṛṣṇa turned round, made a slit in the wall underneath where Kanaka sat in prayer and gave Darsan to his devotee. In the temple there is a little window through which people have the Darsan of the Lord. This is known as Kanakana Khiṅdi after the great Dāsa.

Like the other mystics, Kanaka Dāsa also passed through the Dark Night. He repents for the past which was spent in enjoyment of sensual pleasures. He is a believer in the supremacy of God Śrī Hari. He gives no importance to the minor Gods. He says, "Whyworship Yakkanāti, Yellammā, Mārī, Durgī and Chowdī? When death comes to drag you, will these Śaktis save you? Worship not the Gods of the crowd, who receive sacrifices of goat, buffalo and sheep. What will one gain by missing true God and worshipping low deities?"[104]

"Kanaka Dāsa sees the manifestation of God even in an hungry dog and this complete saturation of the soul with the nectar of Divinity is symbolic of total absorption in every manifestation and seeing God face to face." [105]

He believed in absolute self-surrender to God and placed implicit trust in His spontaneous grace.

"O mind, hold yourself in peace, do not get perturbed. Doubt not that He tends all men with equal care. Who watered the tree that has sprouted on the mountain peak and which gardener has bounded its bed to hold the water?"[106]

Vādirāja

Vādirāja's name is a memorable one in the history of Vyāsakūṭa Haridāsa movement for his marvellous attempts to animate the activities of the Vyāsakūṭa and Dāsakūṭa organisations. Vādirāja alias Soderāja hailed from a village called Hūvinakere (Maṅgalore District) in the year 1480 A.D.[107] He was the pupil of Vyāsarāya and occupied the pontifical seat of the Maṭha of Viṣṇu Tīrtha, the younger brother of Madhvācārya.[108] Vādirāja is said to have marshalled the ancient lore under the guidance of Vyāsarāya in his Maṭha at Haṁpi. He was a worshipper of Haya-Grīva and his son's nom-de-plume is Haya-vadana. Though he did not suffer from the pangs of poverty, as many Haridāsas did, all the same he did not escape the "Dark Night of the Soul". He is a staunch advocate of Madhvism and preaches the spirit of Madhva in the following song.

"What oath shall I take to prove that this religion is the best one? Oh man! All the learned are agreed on this (point). Shall I take the oath of Śrī Tulsi (plant) to the effect that the doctrine of the Preceptor Madhvācārya is superior to other Śāstras? Oh man! Shall I cross the ocean to prove that the other religions are against the Vēdas? Shall I take up a very great weight to prove that the Bhāgavata Śāstra is of the highest merit? Oh man! Shall I leap down from the top of a high mountain (to prove) that there will be hell for him who hates a Bhāgavata? Shall I make the Vēdas and the Āgamas speak out that Śrī Viṣṇu is the best among the Gods? Oh man! Shall I drink the deadliest poison to prove that the Tāratmya is the means for the attainment of Mōkṣa, or shall I touch a running cobra to prove that there is no day equal to the day of Hari (Ekādasi) and the next one? Shall I catch fire to prove that Ānanda Tīrtha is the protector of Life? Oh man! Shall I get the sound from the heaven (from the bodyless) to prove that the great Hayavadana is full of good qualities." [109]

"The Haridāsa movement made an effort to place a complete code of morality and religion before the people. Its main object was to condemn formalism and ritualism in religion and a too arduous pursuit of worldly prosperity. It preached, instead, devotion to God and recognition of spiritual values. It also preached that the better life was not meant for a few people but was meant for all, and should be striven after by all." [110]

The Dāsas did not reject the mundane life but only sought to remove its ills and evils.[111] Like the Vīra Śaiva saints they were unmerciful in their criticism of hypocrisy and worship. Purandara says, "Is he who wears the sacred marks on his body and goes on shouting the names of God a real Bhakta, while he does not comprehened the Truth? Is he a Liṅgāyat who does not realise the God head that is in aṅga and liṅga and who does not perceive the Jaṅgama and Sthavira? Is he a real Muslim who merely turns towards Mecca and chants prayers without realising Allah or Khudah in his ātman?" [112]

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1. Narain, K. An Outline of Madhva Philosophy, p.173.

2. I.A., XLIII, 1914, p.233; J.I.H., Vol.15, p.103; My.Soc. Jo., Vol.XX, pp.284-286: R.G. Bhandarkar, Collected Works, Vol.IV, p.82; I.A. XLIII, p.233. The date of birth of Madhvācārya is uncertain and different dates are suggested. They are A.D. 1317, A.D.1183 and A.D.1199. The former date seems more acceptable on the basis of epigraphic and literary evidence. The Madhvavijaya of Nārāyaṇa, son of Trivikrama

gives us a fairly authentic account of the life and achievements of Madhvācārya. Madhva is said to be the son of Madhyagēhabhaṭṭa, a native of Pajakakṣētra, a small village 8 miles south-east of Uḍipi, near Maṅgalore in South Kanara. He received the education imparted to a Brahman and was initiated into Sanyāsa by Acyutaprēkṣa. He toured extensively and under the name of Purṇaprajna held disputations with the leaders of Advaita, Buddhist and Jaina scholars. Ānaṅdatīrtha's commentaries on Gīta and Brahmasūtras gained wide popularity as standard books in explaining the doctrine according to dualism. He also wrote Anuvyākhyāna to satisfy his Brahmasūtrabhāṣya and Bhāgavata - tātparyanirṇaya.

3. Bhandarkar, R.G.Collected Works,Vol.IV, p.81.

4. Dasgupta, S.N. A History of Indian Philosophy. Vol.IV,p.150.

5. S.D.S.,p.97.

6. S.D.S.,pp.102.

7. P.Nagaraja Rao, Introduction to Vēdānta, p.195.

8. S.D.S.,p.97.

9. R.G.Bhandarkar, Collected Works,Vol.IV, p.97.

10.S.D.S.,pp.92-93.

11.Padmanābha wrote a commentary on Madhva's Anuvyākhya, known as Sanyāya Ratnāvaḷi. My.Soc.Jo.,Vol.XX,pp.284-286. Narahari, who flourished between A.D. 1324 - A.D. 1333 under the patronage of the Eastern Gaṅgas and whose inscriptions are found at Śrīkūrmam, spent his last days at Ānegoṅdi, a seat of the Vijayanagara Kings. On a rock in the river Tuṅgabhadra, 2 miles down from Ānegoṅdi towards Haṁpi, is the Brindavana of Narahari. He wrote commentaries on Śrī Madhva's Sūtrabhāṣya, Gītābhāṣya and Yamakabhārata. According to Jaya Tīrtha Vijaya of Vyāsa Tīrtha, Akṣōbhya lived in the dominions of Vijayanagara for a considerable period and later left to Malkhed in the present Nizam's dominions. J.I.H., Vol.15, p.103; Vy.Cari. Intro.P.XXXVIII.

12.According to tradition he was the son of a Mahārastra Brahman, Raghunātha Dēspāṇḍe and his wife Rukmābāi, who lived in a village named Maṅgalvēdhe near Pandharpur. The tradition says that he was initiated into Sanyāsa by Akṣōbhyatīrtha. Vādāvaḷi, Intro., p.XXIV, Ed.with an English translation by P.Nagaraja Rao.

13. Namō-gaṇita-kalyāṇaguṇa- pūrṇaya Viṣṇavē

Satya sēṣa jagaj-janma pūrvakartri Mura-dviṣē.

14. They are Tattva Saṁ khyāna--Ṭīka, Tattvavivēka - Ṭīka, Tattvodyota-Ṭīka, Viṣṇu - tattva - nirṇaya - Ṭīka, Māyā-vāda - Khaṇḍana - Ṭīka, Upādhikhaṇḍana - Ṭīka, Pramāṇalakṣaṇa - Ṭīka, Kathā- lakṣaṇa-Ṭīka, Karmanirṇaya - Ṭīka, Sūtra Prasthāna, Tattvaprakāsika, Anu-Bhāṣya-Ṭīka, Nyā-yasudha, Nyāyavivaraṇa Ṭīka, Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya- Ṭīka, Ṛg-Bhāṣya Ṭīka, Gītā-bhāṣya- Pramēyadīpikā, Gīta-Tātparya Nyāyadīpikā, Padyamāla, Satāparādha Stōtra, Adhyātmamṛta Taraṅgiṇi.

New Indian Antiquary, Vol.I,1938-29, pp.433-443.

15. III-18.

16. J.I.H.,Vol.15, p.112; Q.J.M.S.,XX, pp.284-286.

17. Inscrp. Madras Presi, Vol.2, Uḍipi taluk, No.241.

18. Madhva, Gīta Bhāṣya, Introduction.

19. B.N.K. Sharma, Dvaita School, Vol.II, pp.241-42.

20. J.I.H.,Vol.15, p.112.

21. B.N.K.Sharma, Dvaita School, Vol.II, pp.239-40.

22. Ibid., p.245.

23. Catal.Cat.1, p.619.

24. Tanjore Palace Library Catalogue, XIV, p.6225.

25. S.D.S. Bombay, En., p.517.

26. N.Venkata Ramanyya, Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, p.321.

27. B.N.K.Sharma,Dvaita School, Vol.II, p.243.

28. A Seminar on Saints, Vyāsarāja; S.Srikantha Sastri gives A.D.1447 as the date of Vyāsarāya's birth. Vij. Sex. Cen.Com.,Vol.p.312.

29. Ep. Ind.,Vol. XII, p.344; Vy. Cari, p.26.

30. An unidentified village in the Hoṅganūr sthala of the Kelalenāḍ which Vyāsarāya had received from King Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was renamed Brahmaṇyatīrthapura after the name of his guru and distributed among his disciples. This confirms the tradition of Vyāsarāya's association with Brahmaṇyatīrtha. E.C. IX. Intro,p.24. Vyāsarāya offers his salutations to Brahmaṇyatīrtha also in his Nyāyāmṛta. P.A. I.O.C.,1930. Vol.II,pp.1015-16.

31.Vy.Cari, p.39.

32. B.N.K.Sharma, Dvaita School, Vol.II, p.27.

33. The earliest date furnished for him is A.D. 1456. M.E.R.,1904, No.253.

34. Vy. Cari, p.40.

35. Vy. Cari, p.53.

36. Ibid., p.56.

37. Vy. Cari, pp.60-61.

38. M.E.R.,1918-19. p.7. A sketchof the yantra is given in this report of the epigraphy department.

39. Yāvanto viṣayāhṛta bhujabalam yāvat sapatnā jitāḥ

Yāvantaśca vadānyatā karasarojātāśrya yāvati

Yāvatyo dhanasaṁpado guṇagaṇo yāvāṅśca yāvadyaśah

Tāvatkartum iyēśa pūjanamiti Śrī vyāsa bhikṣornṛpaḥ. Vy. Car, p.71.

Cittānu vartakēna bhāgavata mūrdhanyena

Tena Kṛṣṇamahīpālena trisaṁdhyam

Kuladēvatevamakūṭataṭ 0amālatīkusumaśe-

kharīkriyamāṇanakhamayūkhajātamahānu-

bhāve.....bhagavati tasmin Vyāsayōgini

40. S.I.I.,Vol. IV, No.277.

41. M.E.R.,1919, No.370.

42. My. Ar. Rep., 1912, Para 107.

43. Vy. Cari, pp.71-75.

44. Vy. Cari, Text.,pp.71-75.

45. T.T.D.E. Report, p.211.

46. Vy.Cari, Intro.,p.Cli.

47. Am.Ml.,Ch.IV, V.253.

48. Vy. Cari Intro, P.Cliv.

49. This is known as the Divaṭi salām and suggested the royal ceremonial. Ep. Ind.,Vol.XII, p.345.

50. Rāmachandraiya, O, Studies on Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagara, p.121.

51. M.E.R.,1905, Para.33.

52. T.T.D.I., Vol.III, No.165.

53. Ibid., No. 175.

54. M.E.R.,1922-23, Para, 84.

55. Venkata Ramanayya, N. Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, p.323.

56. B.N.K.Sharma, Dvaita School, Vol.II, p.34.

57. M.E.R.,1923, Para,84.

58. op.cit.,Dvaita School, Vol.II, p.42.

59. Vij. Sex. Cent. Com.Vol,p.238.

60. N.Venkata Ramanayya, Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, p.424; Sharma, B.N.K., Dvaita School, Vol.II, p.44. Tātparya Candrikā and Candrikā are not two different works as stated by Rangacharya. Insc. Madras. Presi. Vol.I, Bellary District, No.363A.

61.B.N.K. Sharma, Dvaita School, p.49.

62. Ibid., p.50.

63. Venkata Ramanayya, N.,Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, p.424.

64. Nagaraja Sarma, Reign of Realism in Indian Philosophy, p.15.

65. Das Gupta, A History of Indian Philosophy, preface to Vol.IV., p.VIII.

66. Vijayīndra acknowledges Vyāsarāya as his guru in some of his works. Intro. verses 4 and 8 of his Madhvādhvakan&ṭa-koddhāra and Upasaṁhāra Vijaya. Ep. Ind. XII, p.344. According to tradition, Vijayīndra was sent over to the Vibhudhēndra Maṭha by Vyāsarāya on the request of Surēndra Tīrtha, the pontiff of the Vibhudhēndra Maṭha, to give him a competent disciple to succeed him. That was how Vijayīndra succeeded Surēndra Tīrtha on the pontifical throne of the Vibhudhēndra Maṭha, instead of following Vyāsarāya. Vijayīndra is believed to have occupied the pontifical throne for fifty-five years from A.D. 1539 to A.D. 1595 and died in about A.D. 1596. Vriddhagirisan, Nāyaks of Tanjore, p.56.

67. My. Arch. Rep.,1917, p.17.

68. Ep. Ind. Vol.XII, pp.344-6.

69. Father Heras, Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, p.552.

70. Aufrecht, Cat. Catal, p.23.

71. It is a criticism of the Śivatattva- vivēka of Appayya Dīkṣita.

72. Aufrecht, Cat. Catal, p.69.

73. Nyāya Mauktikā Māla, Intro. Verses.

74. Vādirāja referred to Vyāsarāya as his guru only in Śrīpādarājaṣṭakam attributed to Vādirāja. A.B.O. R.I., Vol.XVIII,Pts.2-3, p.194.

75. M.E.R.,1901, Nos.110, 114.

76. Inscri. Madras. Presi.,Vol.2, Uḍipi taluk, Nos.231, 234.

77. J.I.H.,Vol.15, p.112; My. Soc. Jou, Vol.XX, pp.284-286.

78. A.B.O.R.I.,Vol..XVIII.Pts. 2-3.

79. Yukti Mallikā, i. 26-27.

80. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol.XIV, Pt.2, Kanara, pp.345-48.

81. B.N.K.Sharma, Dvaita School, Vol.II, p.195.

82. Gurvārtha Dīpikā Pāṣāṇḍa malakhaṇḍana

Pramēya Saṁgraha Bhūgōḷavivaraṇa

Gururājīyā Haribhaktasāra

Tātparya Prakāśika Kalpalata

Iśā bhāṣya ṭīka Gītāvyākhyāna vivaraṇa

Taṁtrasāra ṭīka Śrutitāla prakāśika

Lakṣābharaṇa Ekadēśinirṇaya

Sarasa Bhāratī Vilāsa Saṁkalpa Paddhati

Rukminīśa Vijaya Vāyustutipurāścaraṇavidhāna

Stōtras and Stutis etc. Vij. Sex. Cen. Com Vol.p.316.

83. Nārāyaṇa's Commentary on the Tīrtha Prabaṁdha confirms the authorship of Cakra Mīmāmsa.

84. Karmarkar A.P. and N.B. Kalamdani, Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭak, p.9-10.

85. Songs edited by Pavanje Gururao, Srikrishna Press, Uḍipi; A.P. Karmarkar and N.B.Kalamdani, Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭak, pp.33-34.

86. Ibid., p.36.

87. Karmarkar, A.P. and N.B. Kalamdani, Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭak, p.44.

88. Ibid., p.45.

89. Acharya, B.T. Haridasa Sahitya, pp.12-3.

90. He was a native of Purandaragaḍ in the Poona District (1484-1564). He became the favourite disciple of Vyāsarāya who initiated him into Madhva Sampradāya. His nom-de-plume was Purandara Viṭhala. M.V.Krishna Rao, Mystic Tradition in Religion and Art in Karnāṭaka, p.110.

91. Rice, P., A History of Kanarese Literature, p.80.

92. "The name Karnāṭak Music as applied to the system is appropriate in that it was shaped by the great Gurus Purandara Dāsa like Vyāsarāya and Śrīpādarāja and standardized by Purandara himself". Dr. B.N.K.Sharma, A History of Dvaita School, Vol.II, p.321.

93. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, Popular Culture in Karnāṭaka, p.61.

94. Purandaradāsara Kīrtanegalu, Edited by Pavanje Gururao, Sri Krishna Press, Uḍipi, Part V, pp.106, 62; A.P. Karmarkar and N.B.Kalamdani, Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭak, p.55.

95. Karmarkar, A.P. and N.B. Kalamdani, Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭak, p.65.

96. Ranade, R.D., Path way to God in Hindi Literature, pp.160-61.

97. Panchamukhi, R.S., Haridāsa Sahitya of Karnāṭak, p.XXIX.

98. Karnāṭaka Darshan, p.128.

99. Krishna Rao, M.V., Mystic Tradition in Religion and Art in Karnāṭaka, p.131.

100. Karmarkar, A.P. and N.B.Kalamdani, Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭak, p.68.

101. Ibid., p.69.

102. Rice, E.P., A History of Kanarese Literature, p.80.

103. Narasiṁhacharya, R., History of Kannada Literature, pp.75-76.

104. Karmarkar, A.P. and N.B.Kalamdani, Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭak, pp.76-77.

105. Mystic Tradition in Religion and Art in Karnāṭaka, M.V.Krishna Rao, p.131.

106. A Seminar on Saints, Edited by T.M.P. Mahadevan, p.247.

107. Karmarkar, A.P. and Kalamadani, N.B, Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭak, p.86. R.S. Panchamukhi assigned to him A.D. 1550. Haridāsa Sahitya of Karnāṭak, p.XXVI.

108.In one of his songs he says, "Thou art bearing the burden of the devotees of Vyāsarāya"-- Vādirājara Kīrtanegalu, 101, Edited by Pavanje Gururao.

109. Vādirājara Kirtanegalu, Edited by Pavanje Guru Rao, P. 144.

110. A Seminar on Saints, Edited by T.M.P.Mahadevan, pp.244-245.

111. Karnāṭaka Darshana, p.128.

112. Ibid, p.129.

7

Jainism

Syādvāda

The philosophy of the Jains was called Syādvāda or Anēkāntamata which found mention in the inscriptions of the period. An inscription on a lamp pillar at Vijayanagara states, "In this world there is no higher doctrine than the Syādvāda or Anēkāntamata".[1] "May the religion of the Lord of the three worlds, the religion of Jina, the unfailing characteristic of which is the glorious and extremely mysterious Syādvāda, be victorious".[2] Another epigraph proclaimed the greatness of Ārhat Pārsvanātha and his doctrine in the following words: "Ārhat Pārsvanātha, who ruled over the empire of all knowledge, and who well knew how to proclaim the doctrine of Syādvāda - Vidya in a street of the Pān Supāri Bazar".[3] It is said that Pārsva countered the arrogant bombast of evil speakers by establishing the doctrine of Syādvādamata.[4]

Epigraphical evidence supporting the popularity of Syādvāda is further attested by Mādhvācārya in his Sarvadarsana Saṅgraha which gave a vivid account of the doctrine of Syādvāda. The nature of Ārhat has been described in the following manner by Ārhacandra Sūri in his Āptaniscayālaṅkāra: "The Divine Ārhat is the supreme lord, the omniscient one, who has overcome all faults, desires, adored by the three worlds, the declarer of things as they are".[4A]

Questioning the authority of the Vēdas which support the existence of the omniscient being, it was contended by the Ārhats that "an omniscient being who had a beginning can never be the subject of the eternal Vēda; and how can he be established as the eternal by a made and spurious Vēda?"[5] Paramāgamasāra described the Three Ratnas as Right intuition, Right knowledge, Right conduct as the path of liberation. According to

Tatvartha Sūtra, faith in the predicaments declared by a Jina was called right faith. This was produced by virtue of the soul's own nature or by the guru's instruction. Right knowledge which was five fold was a knowledge of the tatvas, Jīva and ajīva, their real nature. Right conduct was described as the abstinence from evil actions and adoption of the five vratas, namely, ahimsa, sunrita, asteya, brahmacharya and aparigraha.

All substances were divided into two broad classes, the jīva (soul) and ajīva (non-soul). The Jīva is pure intelligence and the ajīva is pure non-intelligence.[6] The Jīvas or souls are divided into two, the mundane and the released. The mundane experience a series of births due to false intuition, non-indifference, carelessness and sin. When the soul is released from bondage it attains Mōkṣa, which "is the absolute release from all actions, by the decay (nirjarā) of the causes of bondage and of existence"[7]. In the released state, the soul rises upward like the elastic seed of the castor-oil plant.

The logical doctrine of the Jains was called Saptabhangi - Nyāya or the system of the seven paralogisms, "may be, it is", "may be, it is not"; "may be, it is, and it is not"; "may be, it is not predicable", "may be, it is, and yet not predicable"; "may be, it is not, and not predicable", "may be, it is and it is not, and not predicable".[8] Thus the Jaina system did not look upon any philosophy as wholly true or wholly false. Probably this eclectic tendency of the doctrine of the Ārhat helped the spread of Jainism in the Vijayanagar empire.

True to their eclecticism and like their Hoysala predecessors, who favoured Jainism even after the conversion of the Royal house to Vaiṣṇavism in the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana, the Vijayanagara rulers not only offered protection but also gave unstinted patronage to Jainism and its institutions. The Rāmānuja edict dated A.D. 1368 records how a dispute arose between the Jains and Vaiṣṇavas in regard to their civil rights[9] and how Bukka I effected an amicable settlement and brought about reconciliation between them. It is stated that he summoned the leaders of the Jains of all the Nāḍus including Ānegondi, Hōspet, Penugoṇḍa and Kallēha and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of the eighteen Nāḍus including the Ācāryas of Śrīraṅgam, Tirupati, Kañci and Melkōṭe. He entrusted the Jainas to the care and protection of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and declared that there was no difference between the Vaiṣṇava Darsana and the Jaina Darsana. He also confirmed the right of the Jainas to enjoy the Pañca Mahā Śabda or the five great musical instruments and the Kalasa or holy waterpot on all ceremonial occasions. Tātayya of Tirumala, a Śrī Vaiṣṇava leader, was empowered to collect one hana a year from every Jaina household throughout the kingdom for the maintenance of the

bodyguard to be appointed by the Vaiṣṇavas at the holy place Belugula for the protection of God and for the white washing of the dilapidated Jaina temples. As a gesture of their reconciliation and friendly relations, both the Jainas and Vaiṣṇavas conferred the dignity of Saṅgha Nāyaka or the leader of the Saṅgha consisting of the followers of Vaiṣṇavism and Jainism on Basuvi Seṭṭi of Kallēha.

The appeal made to the Vaiṣṇavas that they should regard "loss or advancement" of the Jainas as their own and "as long as the Sun and Moon endure, the Vaiṣṇavas will continue to protect the Jaina Darsana", leads one to think that Bukkarāya suspected mischief on the part of the Srī Vaiṣṇavas. This was not a baseless assumption. For, the epigraph states that "dispute having arisen between the Jainas and the Bhaktas (or the faithful), the Jainas of all the Nāḍus within Āneyagoṅdi, Hōspaṭṭana, Penugoṅḍa and Kallēha made petition to Bukka Rāya that the Bhaktas were unjustly killing them". "By restoring to the Jainas their ancient privileges", observed Saletore, "King Bukka Rāya removed a source of discontent in a community which, although politically shorn of its ancient power, yet could have turned itself into a seditious section, especially in the precarious period of the fourteenth century".[10] This charter of liberties laid down the fundamental principles of religious policy, which was liberally interpreted by the later monarchs. This spirit of toleration which distinguished the policy of the Saṅgama rulers inspired their subjects to adopt a cosmopolitan outlook, which substantiated the saying "Yathā Rāja Tathā Prājā".

The example of Bukkarāya was followed by his successors who also helped the cause of Jainism. When there was a dispute over land between the Jainas and the Saivas it was settled in favour of the Jainas during the time of Dēvarāya. According to an inscription dated A.D.1412 found in the Saṅkhabasti at Lakṣmēsvar, a dispute arose between Hēmadēvācārya of Saṅkhabasti and Sivarāmayya, the priest of the Sōmadēva temple at Lakṣmēsvar, each claiming proprietary rights over the land. When the issue was referred to the minister Mahāpradhāna Nāganna Daṅḍanāyaka he entrusted the matter to Saṅgamadēva, the palace priest and the learned juries of the town. The learned assembly examined carefully the documents in evidence of their ownership of land, witnesses of both the parties were catechized, cross- examined the tenants who were cultivating the land and judiciously delivered the verdict in favour of the Jainas. A document was also prepared containing the details and judgement of the case and duly signed by the judge Saṅgama- dēva and members of the jury. This dispute has great significance in the religious history of the Vijayanagara empire. It is a memorable instance of the religious tolerance of the Saṅgama rulers and

their sincerity and dedication to the cause of upholding the cause of Jina dharma. N.S.Rangaraju rightly pointed out that "though Saṅgamadēva, the purohita, was a Saiva, as can be judged by his name, and Mahāpradhāna Nāganna was also of the same faith, did not hesitate to support the cause of the Jainas as against their own religion is also of some interest".[10a] Dēvarāya I made a gift of the village Bēḷame in the Mepināḍ Vriṭṭi for the worship of Gummaṭa Svāmi of Beḷgoḷa.[11] The Padmavati Basti inscription of Humca says that Dharmabhūṣana Guru had his two feet illumined by the crown of the Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara, the King Dēvarāya.[12] Dēvarāya's son Vijayarāya I granted Maleyūr to the God Vijaya of Kanakagiri. The God Vijaya appears to have been set up by Telugu Ādidēva, disciple of Hēmacandra Bhaṭṭārka of the Śrī Mūla Saṅgha, Dēsi Gaṇa, Koṇḍakuṇḍānvaya, Pustaka Gaccha and Hanasōgebali and Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka in A.D. 1355 in Kanakagiri for the purpose of their tomb.[13]

Dēvarāya ordered the building of a Caityālaya dedicated to Pārsvanātha in the capital itself in the year A.D. 1426,[14] obviously meant to satisfy the religious needs of the time, and especially to demonstrate once again the validity of one of the Birudas borne by the Emperors of Vijayanagara that they were the protectors of Sakala Varṇāsrama Dharmas.[15]

The queens of the Royal House were not behind their lords in patronising Jainism. Bukkuvve, the Queen of Vīra Harihara Rāya, gave a gift to the Basadi built by General Irugappa in A.D. 1397.[16] Bhīmā Dēvī, Queen of Dēvarāya I, appears to have been a follower of the Jaina teacher Paṇḍitācārya. She installed the image of Śāntinātha in the Mangāyi Basti at Beḷgoḷa in 1410 A.D.[17] The Maṅgāyi Basti was originally built by Maṅgāyi of Beluguḷa, a disciple of Abhinava Cārukīrti Paṇḍitācārya, and it was named Tribhuvana Cūḍāmaṇi, in about A.D. 1325.[18] However, "Śānthināṭha does not appear to be the original image set up by Maṅgāyi as the inscription on the pedestal states that the statue was caused to be made by Bhīmā Dēvī".[19] Queen Bhīmā Dēvī might have been responsible for the generous attitude of King Dēvarāya I towards the Jaina teachers. It was during the reign of Dēvarāya II that the temple of Ārhat Pārsvanātha at Kuṇṛai or Kuṇṛattur came into existence.[20] Sāḷuva Narasiṁha revived worship in Jaina temples at certain places like Paṇappāḍi and Poṇparappa which had suffered during the Orissan invasions.[21] Kṛṣṇadēvarāya remitted the taxes on all Dēvadāna lands including those belonging to the Jaina and Buddhist temples in the Padaivīḍu and Caṅdragiri Rājyas.[22] He gave a gift of land to the Trailōkyanātha temple at Jina Kaṅci.[23] When Śānta Liṅga, a Vīra Śaiva chief, massacred unjustly several Śvētāmbara Jainas in A.D. 1511,[24]

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya ordered the Velugōṭi chief, called Gani Timmā Nāyaḍu, to kill Sānta Liṅga for beheading the Jainas.[25] In A.D. 1515 Kṛṣṇadēvarāya ordered, on the representation of Dēvēndrakīrti, that the lands belonging to the Nēminātha basti at Varāṅga which had been granted by Dēvarāya should be cleared of forest and restored to the same basti.[26] In A.D. 1532 Acyutarāya on the representation of Vaippa Nāyaka, the Gingee chief, issued an order remitting the Jōḍi and Sūlavāri taxes on the lands belonging to the shrine of Vijaya Nāyaka at Sambai.[27]

Change in Jaina Attitude

By Vijayanagara times, Jainism, originally an antiVedic movement, came closer to theistic religions due to the changed environment, especially in Karnāṭaka. "Since the doctrine gave no other support, the religious feeling of the laity clung to the founder of it, Jina, and with him his mythical predecessors became gods... In many of their hymns in honour of Jina they appeal to him with as much favour as the Brahmana to his gods; and there are often expressions in them, contrary to the original teaching, ascribing to Jina a creative power."[28] In the light of this, there seems little doubt that Jainism changed in practice though not in theory during the Vijayanagara period. Instances of Jainas accepting services in the army of the Vijayanagara rulers and their feudatories are not wanting. In the light of this it is not difficult to understand how the Jainas have accepted a life of force and bloodshed in violation of Ahimsa and Parigraha-tyāga. Even as far back as the time of Sōmadēva, the Jaina teacher (959 A.D.) we have the dictum: "Where there is no harm done to the highest principles of Jainism, where there is no infringement of the vows enjoined, all indeed is acceptable to the Jainas which have the sanction of local custom."[29] Similarly, Jinasēna in his Mahāpurāṇa states that the Jainas can perform Yajñas in conformity with Vyavahāra Nyāya.[30] These expressions indicate the changed attitude of Jainism in order to maintain its own existence in the face of the growing influence of rival faiths like Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism. Such teachings must have given the necessary moral support to the Jainas of Karnāṭaka to accept services involving violation of the principle of Ahimsa.

Jaina Ministers and Generals of Vijayanagara

Baica Daṇḍēsa and his sons General Irugappa, General Maṅgappa and Bukkana distinguished themselves by their meritorius services to the state as well as to the Jaina Dharma. Maṅgappa was "a supporting tree to (the creeper Dharma) and an adherent of the Jaināgama". His son General Irugappa proved his loyalty to the state and devotion to his faith. The Śrāvana Belgoḷa inscription sings the glory of this devout Jain.[31]

"Abundance of food, protection from danger, medicine, and learning became his daily gifts. Thoughts of injuring others, falsehood, passion for the wives of others, theft and greed were kept away from him. His liberality (was directed) only towards worthy persons, his looks towards the path of Dharma, his tongue towards praising His virtues, his bodily health towards bowing to Him, his nose towards the excessive fragrance cf His lotus feet, and his everything to His service". He was described as Jainōttaman.[32]

General Irugappa's devotion to the Jaina Dharma is expressed through his liberal benefactions for the promotion of religion. In A.D. 1382 he granted the village of Mahēndra Maṅgaḷam in the division of Māvanḍur to the Trailōkyanātha Temple at Tiruparuttikuṇṛam for the merit of Prince Bukkarāya, son of Harihara II.[33] He built the Caityālaya of Kuṅthu or Kuṅdu Jinanātha at Vijayanagara which saw completion in A.D.1386.[34] This is known as Gāṇigiṭṭi Temple or the temple of the oil woman.[35] In the year Prabhava, corresponding to A.D.1387-88, in fulfilment of the desire of his preceptor Puṣpasēna entitled Paravadimalla, a successful opponent of his enemies in discussion, he constructed a Mahā Maṅḍapa in front of the Vardhamāna Temple in Kaṅcīpuram for holding musical concerts.[36] That is how it came to be known as Saṅgīta Maṅḍapa. Mallisēna Vāmana, the guru of Puṣpasēna Vāmana, was a great scholar. "His erudition of Sanskrit won for him the title Ubhaya Bhāṣā Kavi Cakravarti or the "Poet Monarch of two Languages." Some of his known works are commentaries on Sanskrit works on Philosophy such as Paṅcāstikāya, Pravacanasāra, Syādvāda Maṅjari.

Another distinguished Jaina general who flourished in the empire was Jaina Mallappa. He was the General of Mādhava, a provincial Governor of Gōvā Nagari, during the reign of Harihara II. Mallappa received from Mādhava gift of the village Caṅgāpura in recognition of his faithful services and breathed his last at Gutti in the year A.D. 1377.[37]

In A.D. 1390 Maṅgarasa Voḍeya, the Governor of Maṅgaḷura Rājya, made a gift of land to the Gurugala Basti at Bidire.[38]

An interesting inscription carved on the pedestal of an image deposited in the Archaeological Museum at Haṁpi records the construction of a Caityālaya at the city of Kuṅdavrōlu and the consecration therein of the image of Kuṅthu Tīrthaṅkara by Immaḍi Bukka Maṅtrīśvara, son of Baicaya Daṅḍanātha, in A.D.1395. This dignitary was the disciple of Dharmabhūṣana Bhaṭṭāraka of the Mūla Saṅgha,[39] Balātkāra gaṇa and Saraswatī - gachcha.

As a result of the patronage of Jainism by the Vijayanagara rulers,

ministers and generals, Jainism spread in the different parts of the Vijayanagara Empire. Wealthy merchants and even poor citizens extended unstinted patronage to the cause of Jainism and donated generously for the construction of Caityālayas, and basadis. The Pārśvanātha basadi in Camarājanagara,[40] Caityālaya of Ādi Parameśvara in Harave,[41] basadis of the Gods Vijayanātha and Candraprabha in Maleyūr,[42] Padmāvati basadi in Hunsur,[43] Caityālaya of the famous Candraprabha in Avalinad,[44] basadi of Śānti Tīrthaṅkara in Tavanidhi, Saṅkala basadi at Huligere,[45] Anantatīrtha Caityālaya at Gerasoppe,[46] Candra Jina Mandira and Hosa basti at Mudabidre,[47] Candranātha basadi of Basarūru,[48] Caturmukha basadi at Karkala[49] came into prominence due to the patronage of the local rulers and devout Jainas.

Jainism had to encounter formidable opposition in the Tamil country from the followers of Śaivism in the seventh and eighth centuries. The missionary activities of Śaiva saints Appar and Tirujnāna Sambandhar in the Pallava and Pāṇḍya kingdoms gave a severe blow to the cause of Jainism in Tamil land.[50] Consequently, Jainism survived only in certain parts of the Tamil country. Tiruparuttikuṇṛamu, popularly known as Jaina Kañci, was a stronghold of Jainism. There were two Jaina temples dedicated to Candraprabha and Vardhamāna Tīrthaṅkaras which are believed to have been founded by Pallava King at the behest of his teachers Vāmana and Mallisēna.[51] The Vijayanagara inscriptions belonging to the reign of Bukka II and Kṛṣṇadēvarāya testify to the popularity of the place as a centre of Jainism.[52]

On the ceilings of the Mukha maṇḍapa and Saṅgīta maṇḍapa in the Vardhamāna temple are to be found a series of coloured paintings illustrating the life stories of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. Tirumalai near Polūr was a centre of Jainism. A record of Rājanārāyaṇa Sāmbuvarāya states that Nallāttāḷ, daughter of Maṇṇai Ponnāṛdai of Ponnūr, caused the blessed Vīhara Nāyanār Ponneyil Nātha to be raised on to the holy mountain of Vaigāi. Ponneyil Nātha means Lord of the Golden Fortress; i.e., Arhat.[53]

There were two notable monasteries at Āḷuruṭṭimalai and Bommaimalai.[54] Siṅgavaram contained, according to the records of Sadāśivarāya, two memorial stones or niṣidis of Jaina teachers.[55] These records refer to the construction of the niśidika of Iḷaiya- paḍārar and Candranandi Ācārya at Siṅgavaram, South Arcot District.[56]

Sub divisions of the Jainas

The Jaina community like the others was divided into many sects and sub-sects. The main division was that of Śvētāmbaras and Digaṁbaras.

And this goes back to the time of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta and their migration, in the company of a large number of Jaina monks, to South India.[57]

The differences between these two schools of Jainism pertained to theory as well as practice. The Digambaras followed a more rigorous code of conduct than the Svētāmbaras. According to the Digambara school, attainment of Nirvāṇa, the highest goal of Jaina philosophy, demanded a total renunciation of the comforts of life including clothes.[58] The Digambaras argued that women had no right to salvation while the Svētāmbaras admitted that women also could attain salvation like men. They had special rules of conduct for their nuns and monks. Social intercourse between monks and nuns was prohibited in the Svētāmbara Jaina code of conduct. A monk who owned any property or wore clothes could not attain Nirvāṇa.[59]

The followers of Digambara Jainism were organised into a number of Sanghas or monastic orders. Such were the Mūla, Kāṣṭhā, Māthura and Gōpya. There were some fundamental differences among these Sanghas. For example, the first three did not admit that women could attain salvation, that saints could take food and that clothing was not a barrier to attain liberation. The members of the Kāṣṭhā Sangha used a brush made of the hair of camari, while those used by the Mūla Sangha and Gōpya Sangha were made of the feathers of a peacock. The Māthura Sangha never used a brush.[60] Rāmaswami Ayyangar referred to four Sanghas, namely, Nandi, Sēna, Dēva and Simha.[60a]

The Mūla Sangha of the Digambara Jainas which appears to be popular in the Vijayanagara empire consisted of four sub-divisions, namely, Simha, Nandi, Sēna and Dēva Sanghas.[61] Each of these Sanghas was further subdivided into ganas and the ganas into gacchas. By way of illustration attention may be drawn to the sub- divisions of the Nandi Sangha, like the Dēsi gaṇa, the Balātkāra gaṇa, Sēna gaṇa, Pustaka gaccha, Sarasvatī gaccha, Inguḷēśvara vaḷi, Hanasōgi vaḷi, etc.[61a] Some of the records referring to the Nandi Sangha inform us that Candra, Kīrtidēva, Bhūṣana and Nandi were some of the personal suffixes borne by the teachers of this Sangha.[62] According to an inscription dated A.D. 1530 from Humca, teachers of the Nandi Sangha acted as the spiritual preceptors of the Hoysala rulers before their conversion to Vaiṣṇavism. Viśālakīrti, chief head of the Balātkāra gaṇa of the Nandi Sangha, triumphed in a polemical contest with the protagonists of other creeds in the assembly of King Virūpākṣa and gained a certificate of victory. Dēvēndrakīrti, his disciple, was honoured by King Acyutarāya. Vādi Vidvānanda who was a great scholar and champion of Jina Dharma was

worshipped by King Sāḷuva Mallirāya of Saṅgītapaṭṭana. Vidyānaṇda's colleague Nēmicandra constructed the Pārsvanātha basadi at Pomburcca.[63]

Cārukīrti Paṅḍita[64] and Śrutamunipa were the spiritual teachers of Gōpanna, the ruler of Nāgarakhaṅada. They belonged to Inguḷēśvara vaḷi, of the Pustaka gaccha of the Naṅdi Saṅgha and the lineage of Koṅḍa Kuṅda.[65] Bahubalī paṇḍitadēva, son of Nayakīrti vrata ,was described as emperor of all learning, a lord of the Mūla Saṅgha, chief of the Dēsi gaṇa, frontal ornament of the Pustaka gaccha and a Koṅḍa- kundānvaya.[66] Śrutamuni, his disciple Dēvacandramuni and his disciple Abhayacaṅdra, who was the guru of Bullappa, the Lord of Nāgarakhaṅda, figure as teachers of the Dēsi gaṇa.[67] Also belonging to the Dēsi gaṇa, Pustaka gaccha, were Hēmacaṅdra Bhaṭṭāraka and Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka. These teachers further claim that they belonged to Hanasōgi vaḷi and Koṅḍakunda lineage.[68] A certain Dēvēndrasūri is mentioned in a record as belonging to Dēsi gaṇa and Ghansōka vaḷi.[69] This Ghanasōka vaḷi was probably identical with Hanasōga vaḷi mentioned in the above record. Māghanaṅdi, disciple of Amarakīrti Ācārya of the Balātkāra gaṇa, Sarasvatī gaccha, and Koṅḍakunda lineage, was the guru of Bhōgarāja, a merchant of Rāyadurg.[70] Dharmabhūṣaṇa of this gaṇa and gaccha figures as the guru of Immaḍi Bukka.[71] A line of distinguished teachers, namely, Dēvēndra Viśālakīrtidēva, Subhakīrtidēva, Dharmabhūṣaṇadēva, Amarakīrti, Dharmabhūṣaṇadēva, Vardhamānasvāmi belonged to this division.[72]

An epigraph from Maleyūr dated A.D.1518 mentions Municaṅdradēva, his disciples Vṛṣabhadāsa and Ādidāsa belonging to the Kālōgra gaṇa of the Mūla Saṅgha.[73] (The Dāsa personal suffixes of the two teachers mentioned in the reocrd are interesting and rather unique).

An epigraph dated A.D. 1388 gives the following lineage of the teachers of the Sēna gaṇa who belonged to the Uddhuravaṁśa. Jinasēna and Vīrasēna, Lakṣmīsēnabhaṭṭāraka, Caṅdrasēnasūri, and Munibhadradēva, who constructed the Hisugal basadi and extended the Mulugunḍa Jinēndra temple, When he died in A.D. 1388 with all rites of Sanyāsana, his disciple Vārīśasēnadēva set up a niṣidhi in memory of his preceptor.[74]

Great Jaina Teachers

The Padmāvati Basti record of Humca is a valuable source of information about a line of distinguished teachers. It states that Viśālakīrti of the Balātkāra gaṇa attained fame in the Court of the Vijayanagara King

Virūpākṣa from whom he received a certificate of victory. He preached the Jina Dharma at Āraga which was governed by Dēvappa Daṅḍanātha between A.D. 1463 and 1468. But the greatest name in the history of Jainism during the period under review was the celebrated Vādi Vidyānanda belonging to the Nandi Saṅgha of the Koṅḍakundānvaya. Vādi Vidyānanda, whose date can be assigned to the early half of the 16th century on circumstantial evidence, has a glorious record of achievements, in the field of religion and literature. He defeated the Saiva teacher Naṅdamalli Bhaṭṭa in the assembly of Nanja Dēva of the Naṅjarāya Paṭṭaṇa. His fame spread in the courts of Sātavēndra Rāja, Kēsari Vikrama and King Sāḷva Malli Rāya where he won laurels for his literary genius. In the court of King Sāḷuva Dēvarāya he defeated the existing systems of philosophy and established his own school of thought. The Nagiri Kingdom also had the good fortune of appreciating his literary proficiency. He visited the courts of Narasiṁha of Biḷige and Bhairava of Kārkala and expounded the doctrine of Jina Dharma. He distinguished himself in the court of the Vijayanagara Emperor Kṛṣṇadēvarāya by defeating the opponents of Jainism.[75]

The Padmāvati Basti record gives the following analogy: "The impression of Vidyānaṅda Svāmi's irreproachable reasoning is ever pleasing to the minds of poets, appearing like Bana's prose-expressed poem. Is it Vāṇī or Caturānana or is it Vācaspati or else, is it the glory of the learned, Sahasravadana or is it Anaṅta himself? Thus do the learned express their doubts in the assembly when Vidyānandamuni is making the Buddhēsbhavanavyākhyāna. He is Omniscient in the three Āgamas, adored with the qualities of poetry, skilled in many commentaries, a great gale to the cloud speakers."

Vidyānanda donated various gifts of clothes, ornaments, gold and silver to the followers of Jainism at the feet of Gummaṭa in Beḷgoḷa, Kopaṇa and other tīrthas.[76]

Sallēkhanā

The Jainas of Karnāṭaka followed a peculiar rite called Sallēkhanā. This might have come into vogue as a corollary to the Hindu practice of Sati. Though the goal of both the rites was death, one was by burning and the other was by starvation. The Jainas believed that Sallēkhanā or starving oneself to death leads to Mōkṣa or liberation. Death should be invited and not just accepted as an inevitable object. The former is called paṅḍita maraṇa or wise man's death. The aim of Sallēkhanā was the liberation of the soul from material bonds. According to the Dharmāmṛta by Asādhara, "Firm faith in Jainism, observance of the Anuguṇa and Śikṣā-vratas, and Sallēkhanā according to rules at the time of death-

these complete the duties of a house-holder."[77] But it should be performed with the guru's permission and according to certain rules.[78]

The words Samādhi and Sanyāsana appear to be the synonyms of Sallēkhanā.[79] Kāmi gauṇḍi, the niece of Mahāprabhu Bēca gauḍa,went to Svarga by Sanyāsana in A.D. 1395. She was a disciple of the rājaguru, Siddhāntiyati.[80] Caṇḍa gauṇḍi, wife of Mahāprabhu Caṇḍa Gauṇḍa and a disciple of Vijayakīrti,renounced her life in the same manner.[81] Haruva gauḍa, son of Mahāprabhu Rāma Gauḍa, disciple of Munibhadradēva, died in A.D. 1408 in the same manner.[82] Kāḷi Gauṇḍi, wife of Mahāprabhu Ayappa Gauṇḍa,entered Samādhi in A.D. 1417.[83]

Forms of Worship

The Jaina ritual is not as elaborate as that of the Hindus yet, those items which the Jainas consider as important should be mentioned here. It was the Jaina practice to wash their images with water. They also observed Caṇḍana Pūja (worship with sandal), Akṣata Pūja (offering of unboiled rice) and Naivēdya Pūja (worship with food). This was followed by Ārati or the lighting of the lamp in the evening.[84] An inscription refers to Kṣīra Pūja or bathing the chief god at the two seasons with milk, the mṛityuñjaya cakra pūja (anointing with pañcāmṛta) and siddha cakrapūja (bathing the siddhas with milk). There were other pūjas also:kārtīka pūja, Naṇḍīsvarada aṣṭahnika Śiva-rātri, Śruta pañcami, pañca Kalyāṇa.[85] The nityapūja in a Digaṁbara Jaina temple consisted of Jala pūja or the washing of the idol followed by Caṇḍana pūja or decorating the idol with three auspicious marks of yellow powder. After this, rice and dried fruit were offered. The evening programme consisted of Ārati, pūja or the waving of a five-fold lamp from left to right in front of the idol.

The worship of the Siddha cakra or saint wheel,which is preserved in every Jaina temple,was also prevalent. The Siddha Cakra represents the Five Great Ones (Sādhu, Upādhyāya, Ācārya, Arihaṇta or Ārhata and Siddha) in miniature figures. The names of the three jewels (Right knowledge, Right faith, Right conduct) and also the concept Tapa are inscribed in between the figures. Twice a year in the spring and autumn this Siddha Cakra was worshipped every day for eight days.[86]

An interesting aspect of Jaina worship was the bathing of Gommaṭēśvara at Śrāvana Belgoḷa which occurs once in every twenty-five years. Such an event took place during the reign of Sāḷuva Immaḍi Dēvarāya of Gerasoppe in A.D. 1560.[87]

Naṇḍīśvara Aṣṭāhnika pūja was performed in Kārtīka, Phālguṇa and Āṣāḍha months from Aṣṭami to Pūrṇima. In case of additional tithis,

vrata was observed for one day more. This is observed for eight days. The important part of this pūja was the anointing ceremony of Jina. The pūja saṅkalpa or the formal beginning was done by the guru. During the eight days of the vrata, brahmacarya or celibacy was observed. On Aṣṭami, during day time, the Naṅdīsvaradvīpa maṅḍala was made and worshipped with eight kinds of substances. Different mantras were chanted on the different days. These maṅtras were addressed to Naṅdīsvara, Aṣṭamahāvibhūti Trilōkasāgar, Caturmukha, Paṅcamahālakṣan, Svargasōpāna, SiddhaCakra, and Indradhvaja.[88]

In Udyāpana pūja thirteen Caitrālayas in the four directions were prepared. As in Ratnatrāya, the Udyāpana had jalayātra, abhiṣēka and sakalīkaraṇa. The same maṅtras were read as in Ratnatraya ceremony.[89]

The Ratnatraya vrata was performed thrice a year in Bhādrapada, Māgha and Caitra, on the Dvādaśi of Suklapakṣa. The performer had to take ony one meal. On Trayōdaśi, Caturdaśi Pūrṇima he had to forego his meal completely (taila). On Pratipāda (next day to Pūrṇima) he could have one meal. During these days one had to control one's senses. After observing the vrata for three years, Udyāpana was performed. If one was not able to fast on three days continuously, he could have one meal on Trayōdaśi, complete fast on Caturdaśi and one meal on Pūrṇima. In case of overlapping of the tithis, this vrata could be started one day earlier, according to the Ācāryas of the Sēna gaṇa and Balātkāra gaṇa. In case of the occurrence of additional tithi on that day also fast had to be observed.[90]

Udyāpana ceremony of the Ratnatraya vrata was performed on Bhādrapada Śukla Pūrṇima. On this day a maṅḍala or special diagram was prepared on a round table in the Dēvī temple. The table should have four legs, covered with white cloth. The maṅḍala was prepared in a round shape with white, red, blue, yellow, and green coloured rice. It contained 93 divisions (koteh). In the centre of the maṅḍala, the mantra Ōm, hrīm Ratnatraya vratāyanamah was inscribed. The second maṅḍala (Saṁyakdarśan) contained 12 divisions and the third (Saṁyakajnāna) had 45 divisions. The fourth Saṁyak caritra possessed thirty-three divisions.

The first step in the process of this vrata was the bringing of the water for the abhiṣēka of God. It had to be brought by the Sumaṅgaḷi women. This was followed by Svastimaṅgaḷa and Sakalīkaraṇa which concluded the vrata. After the performance of the udyāpana ceremony fruits were distributed in 13 houses belonging to the Jainas.[91]

Śruta paṅcami. This festival falls on Jyēṣṭa śukla paṅcami. On this

very day the Jaina Āgama Satkhaṇḍāgama was completed and four orders of the Jaina Saṅghas (Caturvidha sangha) all together worshipped the Āgama and celebrated Śruta pañcami. It is said that Ācārya Dhārāsēna taught Āgama Sāhitya to his two pupils, Bhūtabali and Puṣpadanta, in the morning of Āṣāḍha Śukla Ekādasi, in the Caṅdra cave of the Girnar mountain in Saurastra. After the death of Dhārāsēna, his disciples prepared satkhaṇḍāgama on Karma literature. Śruta pūja was followed by Śrutabhakti, Siddhabhakti and Sāntibhakti or the reading of the maṅtras.[92] The object of the vrata was to keep oneself pure, avoiding committing himsa and performing acts of piety like dānas.

Pilgrimages

Like the Hindus, the Jains also attached great importance to pilgrimages. They were specially undertaken on the full moon days in October-November (Kartīka Pūrṇima) or in April-May. The most important fast was observed on the last day of the Jaina year. They also fasted on the full moon days which fell in Spring and Summer.[93] In Raudri Vaiśākhā- sudda, 10 Sukravara (A.D.1440) Jinasēnabhaṭṭāraka and the people of Kollāpura along with the Saṅgha visited Śrāvaṇa Belgoḷa.[94] In Vyaya, Māgha suddha 13 (A.D. 1407), Brammaya Seṭṭi and other people visited Belgoḷa.[95] It was customary to give various gifts at the tīrthas during the visit. Vādi Vidyānanda, in order to gain religious merit, performed a mahākala of cloth, ornaments, gold and silver to the Jaina Saṅgha at Belgoḷa. In Kopaṇa and other tīrthas, he conducted great festivals by the right of dēhājñā.[96]

REFERENCES

1. S.I.I., Vol.1, Verse 22, p.159.
2. Ibid., Verse 2, p.158.
3. Ibid., Line 1,p.164.
4. Ibid., Verses 16-20, p.167 4A. S.D.S., p.41.
5. Ibid, p.41.
6. Ibid., p.49.
7. Ibid., p.58,51.
8. Ibid., p.59.
9. E.C. 11, Sb. 344.
10. Saletore, Mediaeval Jainism, p.292.
10a. Q.J.M.S., Vol. LXXVII, Bangalore, 1986, pp.398-401.

11. E.C. V, Mj. 58.

12. Ibid., VIII, Nr.46.

13. E.C.IV, Ch. 153, 144.

14. S.I.I,Vol. 1, No. 153.

15. Saletore, Mediaeval Jainism, p.303.

16. MER, 1907, No.51.

17. E.C. 11, Sb. 337.

18. Ibid., 339, 341.

19. Ibid., 342, Introduction, p.29. The Maṅgāyi basti was repaired in A.D. 1412 by Gummataṇṇa, disciple of Hiriya-ayyaof Gerasoppe, along with other bastis at Belgoḷa.

20. MER, 1941-42, No.103.

21. Ibid., 1937-38, No.416, Para 65.

22. Ibid., 1939-40, No.144.

23. Ibid., 1890, No.45.

24. Ibid., 1915, No.16.

25. Dr. N.Venkataramanayya, Third Dynasty, p.317.

26. MER, 1928-29, No.528.

27. MER, 1937-38, No.449. Though Vijayanātha's name is not included in the list of the Tīrthaṅkaras, Vijaya appears to be the yakṣa assigned to Caṅdraprabha, as every Tīrthaṅkara was provided with a yakṣa and two female attendant-spirits, one a Dēvī and the other a yakṣī. I.A. Vol. 13, p.278.

"As the village was called Paḷḷicchandal, which appears to be the same as aḷḷicchandam, Vijaya Nāyaka of the present inscription should be the name of a Jaina deity and this is established in fact by the very name Sainiyamman (Jaina Ammaṇa?) Kōyil by which the low mound on which the slab stands is known, coupled with the existence of a mutilated image of Bāhubali lying in its precincts.

MER, 1937-38, Para 70.

28. Buhler, the Indian sect of the Jainas, pp. 18-20; Barth, Religions of India, p.146. The Ārhat's nature has been thus described by Arhacandra - Sūri in his Āptaniscayālaṅkāra.

"The divine Ārhat is the supreme Lord, the omniscient one,

who has over come all faults desires,etc.-adored by the three worlds, the declarer of things as they are".

The Vītarāgastuti or Praise of Jina says "There is one eternal

maker for the world, all-pervading, independent, and true;

they have none of these inextricable delusions, whose teacher art thou." (S.D.S. p.41)

29. S.K.Sharma, Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, p.162.

30. Mahāpurāṇa, IL 88-90.

31. E.C. II, Sb. 253.

32. T.N.Ramachandran, Tiruparuttikuṇṛam and its Temples, p.57.

33. MER, 1890, No.41.

34. S.I.I., Vol. 1, No.152.

35. The significance of the term Gaṇi of Girṇi has been variously interpreted. Girṇis or Sādvis are the nuns of the Jainas. A girl who has completed nine years becomes a Girṇi with the permission of her guardians. A widow also may become a Girṇi. I.A.13, p.278.

36. T.N.Ramachandran, Tiruparuttikuṇṛam and its Temples, pp.43-45, 57; Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp.115-16.

37.MER, 1932, Nos.33, 105.

38. MER, 1901, No.55.

39. MER, 1935-36, No.336, Para 62. Kaṅdanavrōlu of the epigraph may be identified with modern Kurnool.

40. MER, 1912, p.51.

41. E.C.IV, Ch. 185.

42. Ibid., Ch. 147, 148, 161, 144, 159.

43. Ibid., Hs. 123, 61, 62, 60

44. Ibid., VIII, Sb. 263.

45. Ibid., Sb. 428.

46. MER, 1928, p.97.

47. S.I.I., Vol. VII, pp. 94-98; MER, 1901,Nos.33, 30.

48. Raṅgacharya, Top. List, 11, p.850.

49. MER, 1901, No. 62.

50. T.N.Ramachandran, Tiruparuttikuṇṛam and its Temples, p.9; M.S.Ramaswami Ayyangar and B.Seshagiri Rao, Studies in South Indian Jainism, pp.67, 70-72.

51. Ibid., p.11.

52. Ibid., pp. 57-59.

53. S.I.I., Vol. 1, No.70.

54. A Manual of Pudukkottai State, Vol. 11, Pt.1, p.688.

55. MER, 1904, Nos. 238, 239.

56. C.L.Jain, Jaina Bibliography, p.215.

57. M.S.Ramaswami Ayyangar and B.Seshagiri Rao, Studies in South Indian Jainism, pp. 26-27; E.C.11, Intro. pp. 36,40.

58."The living creatures, having fallen into the middle portion of the ocean of the horrible worldly existence containing groups of whales and alligators in the shape of great calamities and terrible lofty waves in the shape of death and life, suffer torment day and night. This body, an abode of misery, is indeed fit to be abandoned not only to the sky-clad (i.e. Jainas) but also to all people; hence it is that sages always exert themselves with eagerness for its riddance here by severe mortification of the body and other (means). E.C. 11, No.258.

59. M.S.Ramaswamy Ayyaṅgar, and B.Seshagiri Rao, Studies in South Indian Jainism, pp.28-29; S.D.S. pp. 62-63; S.B.E. XXII, pp. 296-97, 303; Ibid XLV, pp. 272; Buhler, The Indian Sect of the Jainas, pp.13-14; Sinclair Stevenson, The Heart of Jainism, pp.79-80.

60. H.R.Kapadia, The Jaina Religion and Literature, Vol. 1, p.42; E.C.11, Sb. 258.

60a.M.S.Ramaswami Ayyangar and B.Seshagiri Rao, Studies in South Indian Jainism, p.28.

61. According to a record dated A.D. 1398, Ārhadbali divided the Mūla Saṅgha into four Saṅghas, namely, the Sēna, the Naṅdi, the Dēva and the Siṁha, in order to minimise hatred and other evils that might arise owing to the nature of the times. However a later record dated A.D. 1432 attributed the origin of the four Saṅghas not to Ārhadbali but to the body of sages who arose in the line of Akalaṅka. E.C.11, Sb. 254, 258.

61a.E.C.11, Sb. 254.

62. E.C.11, Nos. 254, 257, 258.

63. Ibid., VIII, Nr. 46.

64. E.C.II, Sb. 254; Ibid, VIII, T1. 197.

65. Ibid., VIII, Sb. 261.

66. Ibid., IV, Ch. 157.

67. Ibid., VIII, Sb. 330.

68. Ibid., IV, Ch. 153.

69. My. Arch. Rep. 1928, p. 95.

70. MER, 1913, No.111; S.I.I.,Vol. IX, Pt.11, No.404.

71. Ibid., 1935-36, No.336.

72. E.C.11, No.274.

73. Ibid., IV,Ch. 147, 148, 161.

74. Ibid., VIII, Sb. 146.

75. E.C.VIII, Nr. 46, Ibid., Intro. p.13. Vādi Vidyānanda gained the approval of the Bhavya Jana or Jainas of Bidire.

76. Nēmicandra Munīndra, the colleague of Vidyānanda, caused the Pārsvanātha Vasati or temple at Pomburchcha with three storeys. E.C.VIII, Nr. 46.

77. Ep. Car. 11, Intro.pp.69-70.

78. When over taken by calamity, by old age, or by incurable disease to get rid of the body for dharma is called Sallēkhanā. One should by degrees give up solid food and take liquid food; then, giving up liquid food, should gradually content himself with warm water; then, abandoning even warm water, should fast entirely: and thus, with mind intent on the five salutations should by every effort quit the body. E.C.11, Intro p.69.

79. E.C.11, 258, 168, 254, 272.

80. E.C.VIII, Sb. 103.

81. E.C.VIII, Sb. 105.

82. E.C.VIII, Sb. 107.

83. E.C.VIII, Tl. 121.

84. E.C.VIII, Sa. 60.

85. E.C.VIII, Sa. 163.

86. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, The Heart of Jainism, Oxford University Press, 1915, p.262.

87. E.C.VIII, Sa. 55.

88. Ācārya Siṁhanaṁdi, Vratatidhinirṇaya, pp. 201-02.

89. Ibid., p.46.

90. Ibid., pp. 105-06.

91. Ibid., pp. 40-44.

92. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

93. Sinclair Stevenson, The Heart of Jainism, p.261, The full moon fasts reflect Hindu influence.

94. E.C.11, 496.

95. Ibid., 497, 498, 311.

96. E.C.VIII, Nr.46.

7

Religious Toleration

The emperors of Vijayanagara proved themselves exemplary religious missionaries. Their missionary spirit, however, was not that of a proselytising narrow creed, but of a great religion which enabled every sect to retain its past associations and individuality, and even then to rise higher by realising, as did the Vijayanagara rulers, that Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Buddha and Jina, etc., were only different names and varied manifestations of the Supreme Being.

This liberal religious spirit of the rulers has generally been attributed to the influence of the Advaita philosophers, Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya. Dr. N.Venkata Ramanayya, identifying Mādhavācārya with Vidyāraṇya, aptly says, "As a true Advaitin he had the breadth of vision to comprehend that all religions were so many ways leading ultimately to the supreme reality, the Brahman."[1] Śaṅkara, the great exponent of Advaita, speaks of the Unity in Diversity[2] saying that it is the Supreme One who is thought of as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Agni, Sun, Moon, etc., according to the devotee's inclination. The backbone of Hindu Philosophy, the Upaniṣads, the Brahmā Sūtra and the Bhagavad Gīta also probably were partly responsible for the tolerant and enlightened outlook of the Hindu emperors. All sects of Hinduism attempted to interpret the triple texts from their own view points. Thus the Vēdānta had become a unifying force for the different sects of Hinduism.

According to some, the catholicity of the Vijayanagara rulers was a necessity demanded by the exigencies of the time.[3] But those who say so would do well to remember that the Muslim rulers, though faced by similar circumstances, followed quite a different policy of fanatical adherence to the tenets of Islām and ruthless elimination of other religious

faiths. Muslim history of the period abounds in examples of wars on account of religious differences.[4] Then there is another view according to which the Vijayanagara rulers were not so much the champions of Hinduism as custodians of the Karṇāta Tradition.[5] This too is a wrong view, for they were really custodians of Hindu religion, traditions and Dharma but at the same time they offered protection and patronage to many communities belonging to different religious faiths.

The kings of the Saṅgama dynasty were Śaivas in faith with a distinct influence of the Pāsupata, Kālamukha and Advaita teachers over them as noticed earlier. That they were essentially Saivaites can be inferred from the following examples of their faith in Saivism. Kampaṇa performed the Sōmavāravrata and at the completion of it made a grant of a large village to the Sōmanātha temple originally built by his minister.[6] King Harihara, described as Śrī Virūpākṣa caraṇa kamalarāja bhṛṅgaḥ, granted the village Bukkarāypura to Brahmans so that his father Bukkarāya might obtain union with Śiva and acquire the favour of Paramēśvara.[7] Dēvarāya was specially devoted to Svayaṁbhu Triyaṁbaka, a form of Śiva.[8] His son Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mallana Voḍeyar was a fervent devotee of Hiḍiṁbinātha, a form of Lord Śiva who destroyed Hiḍiṁbakāsura. After worshipping Lord Śiva in a highly elevated manner, Mallana gifted to the temple of Hiḍiṁbinātha, Kaṁciganahaḷḷi, renamed Mallāpura after his mother Mallayavve, for the decoration and festivals of the God.[9]

Dēvarāya II was described as the worshipper of the divine lotus feet of God Mallikārjuna attended by Naṁdinātha, Bhṛṅginātha and Vīrabhadra, the gaṇas of Śiva, and as an ardent follower of the pure Śivācāra.[10] As a mark of his devotion to Śiva he made some structural additions to the Prasanna Virūpākṣa temple and granted agrahāras for its maintenance.[11] Mallikārjuna, alias Vijayarāya, was said to haye been born to Dēvarāya II by the grace of Lord Mallikārjuna of Śrīśailam and was therefore named after that God.[12]

Thus, though the Saṅgama rulers were true followers of Śaivism and came under the influence of eminent Śaiva teachers, their personal faith did not prevent them from extending their patronage to the other sects.[13] They made generous gifts for the renovation and reconstruction of the temples of other sects which had suffered damage or destruction during the Muslim invasions. The following examples would support the eclectic policy of the Saṅgama rulers of Vijayanagara. Vīra Bukkanna Voḍeya directed his Mahāpradhāna Maleya Daṇṇāyaka in A.D.1357 to donate new land to the temple of Saṅkaranārāyaṇadēva as the old deed containing the grant was lost. It is significant that Bukka encouraged the worship of God Saṅkaranārāyaṇa, a combination of Śiva and Vishnu. [14] The

same temple received a grant of land in the reign of Vīra Bukkanna. The epigraph registering this grant refers to the God as Kodagiya Saṅkaranārāyaṇadēva.[15] The Ariyūr plates dated A.D.1390 testify to King Virūpākṣa's patronage of Vaiṣṇava temples. According to it, Virūpākṣa regilded the central shrine of the Śrīraṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam.[16] Dēvarāya I made a grant of a village with its toll revenue for the service of the God Hanumantadēva.[17] Dēvarāya II extended patronage to the Kalasāpura Āñjanēya temple in the vicinity of Kaṁpili in A.D.1434.[18] An inscription of the reign of Dēvarāya II describes the tolerant outlook of the emperor. It stated thus: "Verily he resembles Śauri (Viṣṇu) but has not to beg for his revenue (bali) while Viṣṇu in his dwarf incarnation as Vāmana begged land from Bali".[19] He granted to the Raṅganātha temple, villages, several ornaments and gold vessels in A.D.1438 and 1448.[20] He even invoked the blessings of Śrīraṅganātha for the spiritual welfare of his mother, by granting four villages to the same temple.[21] During his hunt in A.D.1434, Dēvarāya visited the local temple of Rāma and gave it a village with an income of twenty Varāha and also some land in Haneyanād.[22] In this connection, the influence of two Vaiṣṇava brothers, Uttamanaṁ bi and Cakrarāya, at the court of Dēvarāya II, deserves notice. The two brothers, Uttamanaṁbi and Cakrarāya, descendants of Periyāḷvār, who are believed to have migrated to Śrīraṅgam from Śrīvilliputtūr, were associated with the administration of the Śrīraṅgam temple. They were instrumental in influencing Dēvarāya to extend his patronage to the Śrīraṅganātha temple. It is said that Uttamanaṁbi defeated the Rāya in a game of chess and obtained many favours from him in addition to the title Cakrarāya for his brother. The influence enjoyed by the brothers is known from a saying which is still current among the people of Śrīraṅgam. It is Ūrpādi Uttamanaṁbi pādi, viz., the town is one half and Uttamanaṁbi the other half. It means that the members of the family were as good as the whole town put together.[23] Uttamanaṁbi received from Prauḍha Dēvarāya a pearl umbrella, a pair of Kahala (musical instruments), dīpikas (lamp stands), a golden vessel and an ivory shield.[24]

With the patronage of Dēvarāya II, Cakrarāya made substantial additions to the Śrīraṅgam temple. He built a maṇḍapa in front of the shrine of Annamūrti and installed an image of Hanumān.[25] He presented eight elephants to the temple in A.D.1382. He is also credited with the consecration of the Daśāvatāra images in a temple on the southern bank of the Kāvēri in A.D.1438.[26] King Mallikārjuna alias Immaḍi Prauḍha Dēvarāya was an embodiment of toleration. Like his predecessors he made a grant of the village of Uttamancēri Kiḷiyūr to the Śrīraṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam for his victory, long life and happiness. He also or-

dered that sixty Vaiṣṇavas should be fed daily in the Rāmānujakūṭam attached to the temple.[27] That the Saṅgama rulers patronised other Vaiṣṇava temples is known from the patronage of the Dāmōdara temple at Bannūrughaṭṭa. Innumerable inscriptions testify to it.[28]

Notwithstanding their inclinations towards Śaivism, the Saṅgama rulers encouraged their Vaiṣṇava generals to help in the revival and restoration of Vaiṣṇavism and its institutions which were affected as a result of the Muslim invasions in Śrīraṅgam and other religious centres.

The Ācāryasūktimuktāvaḷi relating to the sack of Śrīraṅgam and the plight of the idol of Śrīraṅganātha during the Muslim invasions describes how the images of Śrīraṅganātha and His Consorts were sheltered by Gōpana in a cave temple at Cinjee and finally restored to their sanctum sanctorum.[29] The services of Gōpana were highly appreciated by the contemporary Vaiṣṇava leaders like Vēdānta Dēsika. It is said that Vēdānta Dēsika paid a tribute to Gōpana commending his heroic exploits and had appreciatory verses inscribed on the walls of the Śrīraṅganātha temple.[30]

Another distinguished Vaiṣṇava general of Kaṁpaṇa, Sāḷuva Maṅgu, the son of Guṇḍa, completed the holy mission of restoring the worship in the temple of Śrīraṅganātha by presenting 6,000 Madas of gold,[31] 1,000 Sālagrāmas and eight villages, one for each of the eight Bījākṣaras.[32] He rightly deserved the title Śrīraṅgasthāpanācārya assumed by him, commemorating his role in the restoration of the God.[33] Thus both the literary and epigraphical evidences prove that Gōpana and Sāḷuva Mangu were not only staunch followers of Vaiṣṇavism but also expressed their devotion to Lord Viṣṇu by the consecration of the idol of Śrīraṅganātha. As stated earlier, the Ācāryasūktimuktāvaḷi and Prapannāmṛitam credit Gōpana with the restoration of God Śrīraṅganātha whereas Jaimini Bhāratamu glorifies the role of Sāḷuva Mangu in the Vaiṣṇava revivalist movement as Śrīraṅgasthapanācārya.[34]

However, Sāḷuva Mangu's reference to Gōpana as Aṇṇa Gōpana indicates in terms of reverence and endearment that both the generals were active participants in the revivalist movement.[35]

In addition to the instances cited above, there are many more to prove that the early Vijayanagara kings, though Śaivaites, patronised Vaiṣṇavism to an appreciable degree. For them religion was not only a view of life but also a way of life. This catholicity of outlook and the spirit of toleration were not the characteristics of attitudes and policies of only the rulers of the first dynasty. The Sāḷuva and Tuḷuva rulers, followers of Vaiṣṇavism, were likewise great embodiments of religious

eclecticism. It was during the reign of Immaḍi Narasiṁha that the village Rāmēśvaram was restored to the Rāmēśvara temple. Sāḷuva Timmarasayya, the minister of Immaḍi Narasiṁha, received a representation that though the village of Rāmēśvaram originally belonged to the temple, the income of the whole village was appropriated by Rāmappa Kannama Nāyaka who obtained Proddutūru and Rāmēśvaram as uṁbali. But Sāḷuva Timmarasa could not restore the village to the temple directly as the village was under the jurisdiction of the government (divāṇam). Hence he transferred the village as a nāyaṁkara to Sāḷuva Gōviṁdarāja who, according to the wish of his lord, Sāḷuva Timmarasa, restored the village of Rāmēśvaram to the Rāmēśvara temple in A.D.1508.[36] Vīra Narasiṁha, a follower of Vaiṣṇavism according to the Rāya Vācakamu, used to receive the tirth and prasada of the 72 Śiva temples in the empire every morning. He accorded respectful treatment to the Vaiṣṇava teachers as well as Ārādhyas who visited him in the Court. He asked the Aiyangars whether the temples dedicated to the eight natural images at Śriraṁgam, Śrīmuṣṇam, Veṁkaṭācalam, Śāligrāmam, Tōṭādri, Naimiśāraṇyam, Puṣkarakṣētram, and Badirikāśramam were well-protected. They replied, "On account of Your Majesty's power, the officials (Mudrakarta) of all the temples are conducting the worship without any deficiency; and the daily festivals are being celebrated properly in all 108 Tirupatis." "Then, the Ārādhyas said that the 72 Śaiva temples including those dedicated to the liṁgas of earth, water, light, air and akasa, viz., Ekāmranātha, Jambunātha, Aruṇācalēśvara, Kāḷahastīśvara, Cidaṁbarēśvara, as well as those of the 18 Śaktis, received their proper allowances; and that the daily festivals were being celebrated regularly. The king who was greatly pleased to hear this report presented to them paṭṭis giving thereby the signal for their departure."[37] Vīra Narasiṁha donated the village Ātukūru to the God Mallikārjuna of Śrīparvata offering salutation with great devotion to the God. This shows that Vīra Narasiṁha, notwithstanding his leanings towards Vaiṣṇavism, respected the feelings of the Śaivas who were especially devoted to Mallikārjuna.[38]

Among the rulers of Vijayanagara, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, a great warrior, statesman, and administrator, was a refreshing example of the religious toleration of the Hindu rulers. Though he was a great believer in and expounder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of thought, his personal faith did not prevent him from being tolerant and benevolent in his dealings with other faiths of the empire. He set an example to his subjects in various ways. He extended his benefactions to the innumerable Śaiva temples and patronised the Madhva teachers. It is of particular interest that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya visited Śaiva temples along with those of the Vaiṣṇavas during his military campaigns whenever an opportunity presented itself.

For instance, he visited Tirumala before reaching Udayagiri in February 1513 A.D. Since the Udayagiri campaign is said to have begun in January, 1513 A.D.[39], it is possible that Kṛṣṇarāya proceeded first to Tirumala to invoke the blessings of his patron deity and then to Udayagiri. He celebrated his visit by presenting the famous Navaratna Kirīṭam and other valuable ornaments in addition to 25 silver plates for Karpūra ārati.[40] From Tirumala he went to Kāḷahasti to pray to Kāḷahastīsvara for success in his wars. He made a gift of a pearl necklace and a necklace of precious stones, a gold cup in laid with precious stones and 25 silver plates for offering ārati.[41]

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya paid many more visits to Tirumala before the end of the Udayagiri campaign towards the end of June A.D. 1514.[42] In view of the proximity of Tirumala to Udayagiri, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya snatched a few days from the scene of warfare to feast his eyes with a view of Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara and presented many jewels to Him. After the capture of the Udayagiri fort, he visited the temple once again on 6th July, A.D.1514, to offer his thankful prayers to the Lord. This time he worshipped the Lord with Kanakābhiṣēkam of 30,000 gold varāhas and by granting the village of Tāḷḷapākam for daily offerings.[43] During his second visit to Tirumala, i.e., on 2nd May, A.D. 1513, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya went for the second time to Kāḷahasti and presented to the God there a golden prabhāvaḷi, set with precious stones, and some villages. The gift was made for the merit of his parents.[44]

During his Koṇḍavīdu campaign, which took place in the year A.D. 1515, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya visited Ahōbilam[45] and Śrīśailam. To God Narasiṁhasvāmi of Ahōbilam, he gave some precious jewels and 1,000 varāhas. The village of Māduru in Chāngalamari-Sīma was also granted for providing offerings to the God. He was accompanied by his queen to Ahōbilam. This visit took place in December, A.D. 1515. To commemorate the victory in the eastern region with his queens Tirumalādēvi and Cinnādēvi, Kṛṣṇarāya paid homage to God Amarēśvara of Dharaṇikōṭa. He performed the tulāpuruṣadāna in the Amarēśvara temple and granted agraharas.[46] From Amarāvati, he proceeded to Śrīśailam to propitiate Mallikārjuna. He donated money for the construction of the maṇḍapas in the car street on Śrīparvata. This was on Wednesday, July 25th, A.D. 1515.[47]

While the Vijayanagara forces were engaged in a protracted struggle against the forces of Pratāprudra Gajapati, Kṛṣṇarāya traversed the land visiting the numerous religious centres important for both the Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas. Probably his religious tour started at the end of the year A.D. 1516 after his return to Vijayanagara from Siṁhādri.[48] In the

course of this tour he visited Tirumala and presented to Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara one Kanthamāla, one padakam and 30,000 varāhas for gilding the Vimānam over the Sanctuary. He also gave 1,000 varāhas to be collected from the surrounding villages of Tirupati for the expenses of pulikāpu to be performed to the God on every Thursday.[49]

He was at Kāḷahasti after three days of his fifth visit to Tirumala in A.D. 1516. He gave a donation for the construction of the hundred-pillared maṇḍapa and a big gōpura for the Kāḷahastīśvara Temple.[50] He visited Kaṅci in A.D.1516 and made gifts worth 1,500 varāhas which accrued from the five villages donated for sacred offerings to Varadarāja of Kaṅci.[51] He next visited the famous Śaiva Kṣētras, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Cidaṁbaram. He built the thousand-pillared maṇḍapa, two tanks, a magnificient gopura with eleven storeys, a car, a temple street and the Aruṇācalēśvara temple. He also gilded with gold some portions of the temple and gave ornaments and vessels for temple use.[52] Similarly, he built the northern gōpura of the Naṭarāja Temple at Cidaṁbaram, perhaps as an act of gratitude for the victories that he had achieved in the north.[53] This was probably built in A.D. 1516, the year in which he returned from Siṁhācalam.

Finally, he reached Kuṁbhakōṇam in the beginning of February, 1517 A.D. to attend the Mahāmakha festival.[54] He once again visited Kaṅci on his return from Kuṁbhakōṇam at the beginning of Saka 1438,[55] and granted two villages for the float festival of Ekāmbaranātha at Śivakaṅci. He also effected an agreement between the trustees of both the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples, fixing the routes to be followed by the cars and vāhanas of the two temples, on festival occasions. The king also pleased the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas by presenting two cars for the Vināyaka in Ekāmbaranātha and for Kṛṣṇa in the Varadarāja temple. That Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, notwithstanding all the stress and strain of his military campaigns, should have found time to visit the celebrated Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva shrines in the different parts of his vast and far-flung empire is eloquent testimony to his eclecticism and spirit of toleration which must have ensured harmonious co-existence among his subjects following different creeds and cults. Instances of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's liberal attitude and his patronage of Śaiva temples may be multiplied which display an unrestricted spontaneity. An inscription on the south wall of the central shrine in the Vīrattanēśvara temple at Virkudi dated A.D.1516 states that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya donated 20,000 varāhas to Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the Cōḷa Maṇḍalam.[56] In A.D.1518 he granted five villages to the Kōṭinātha temple in the presence of the Virūpākṣa liṅga on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra.[57] More important was the attention he paid to the Virūpākṣa temple at Hampi. He built a Raṅgamaṇṭapa in front of the inner shrine

of the Virūpākṣa temple. He also made a gift of a golden lotus set with the nine kinds of gems (Navaratnas) and a snake ornament.[58]

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's assumption of the title Yavana-Rājya Sthāpanācārya is the only instance in the history of India of a Hindu emperor bearing a title which has some reference to Muslim politics and religion.[59] He liberated the Bahamani King Maḥmūd Shāh II of Bidar who was imprisoned in his own palace by Kamāl Khān, the regent of the Bijāpur Sultān, Ismāil Ādil Khān.[60] This event is of great significance as Maḥmūd Shāh was the one who pledged himself to conduct jīhads or wars in the name of religion against the Hindus and "spread the gospel of Islām by means of the sword." The Muslim rulers of the Deccan took a decision at Bidar that "once in each year the whole of the amirs and wazirs should come to the royal court, and join in a jīhad against the idolators of Vijayanagara and hoist the standard of Islām, should use their utmost endeavours to eradicate the infidels and tyrants."[61] However, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya forgave this unpardonable act of Maḥmūd Shāh and restored him to power. Thus the assumption of the title Yavana- Rājya-Sthāpanācārya, meaning the establisher or restorer of the kingdom of the Yavana's by Kṛṣṇarāya, may be taken as an illustration of the great monarch's concept of the universal brotherhood of religions.

The officers of Kṛṣṇarāya followed in the footsteps of the emperor. Narasarāja, son of Gōparāja, the chief of the town of Yēṭūru, constructed the temple of Virūpākṣa consisting of the garbha- griha, Sukhanāsi and raṅga- maṇḍapa in A.D. 1509.[62] Honnisetṭi, the manager of the royal palace, constructed for the God Vīrabhadra of the Agrahara of Vīra Ballāla Caturvēdabhaṭṭa Ratnākara, a gandhagōdi- maṇṭapa in front of the raṅga maṇṭapa in A.D.1511.[63] The great minister . . .Rāja made a grant of land to the great god of gods, the divine liṅga, the god Anilēsvara.[64] In A.D.1523 Beṅkarasa, son of Heggarasa, caused the construction of a temple devoted to Virūpākṣa at Kuriyakuppe surnamed Anantasētu.[65] The Nādiṇḍla chiefs were followers of Vaiṣṇavism. But they gave benefactions not only to Vaiṣṇava but also to Saiva temples. A record dated A.D.1521 which started with an invocation to god Rāmacandra registers a grant by Nādiṇḍla Gōpaya, the brother of Nādiṇḍla Appa and nephew of Sāḷuva Timmma, to god Sōmēsvara of Vērūru.[66] Nādiṇḍla Appa made gifts both to Vaiṣṇava and Saiva temples. In A.D.1517, he built a splendid temple of Siva at Nandipāṭi near the Omkara river. In A.D.1518 he presented a plastered stone hall to the great Virēsvara Temple in the village of Nūntulapāḍu for the benefit of his father-in-law Sāḷuva Timma. In A.D.1519 he built a large and beautiful hall in the temple of Agastya Mahēsvara at Krāñja for the benefit of Sāḷuva Timma and his wife Lakṣmī. Sāḷuva Timma himself gave the village of

Koṇḍakāvūru to the temple of Trikūṭēśvara- Nitaladris, i.e., Trikūṭēśvara Śiva, the Lord of the whole world.[67]

Some of the officers of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, the Vaiṣṇava emperor, were followers and patrons of Liṅgāyatism. Kenicasōmana Nāyaka was a great patron of the Liṅgāyats. In A.D.1507, he granted the village Dēvagoṇḍanahalli to the Vīra Śaiva guru Siddha- rāmēśvara of the mahāmahattu possessed of pure Śivācāra.[68] Hanumappa was a follower of Basavaśāsana.[69] Reṇṭūri Ciṭṭamarasu, a bearer of the burden of Sāḷuva Timmarasu's administration, the minister of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, patronised the Basava bhaktas. He also made structural additions to the Vīrabhadra temple at Kākāni and provided for the maintenance of Vīramuṣṭis and Jaṅgamas attached to the temple.[70] The Vīra Śaiva chief Śānta Liṅga was an ardent follower of Liṅgāyatism. He covered with gold the eves of the mukha maṇṭapa in the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam. He is known to have renovated the high gopuras on the east and south sides of the prākāra wall of the same temple. He also gifted many ornaments and vessels to the God and granted villages to the Mahājanas who resided on the Śrīśaila hill.[71]

Illustrative of the spirit of toleration which characterised the religious life and thought of the times were the religious affiliations of the celebrated poets who adorned the court of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.[72] In the court of King Kṛṣṇadēvarāya flourished the eight famous poets or Aṣṭadiggajas who were of Vaisnava and Śaiva persuasions. One of them, the renowned poet Allasāni Peddana, was a follower of Vaiṣṇavism as evidenced from his work Manucaritramu. In it Peddana pays homage to his guru Saṭhakōpa Yati who was described as the abode of knowledge, capable of dispelling the darkness from the minds of his disciples with his benevolent looks.[73] At the end of every Asvasa is found the verse stating that the author was devoted to the lotus feet of Lord Viṣṇu and was also the disciple of Saṭhakōpa. In A.D.1519 he completed the building of the Varadarāja Perumāḷ temple at Annūr in Karivācisīma (S.Arcot) which he received as a nāyaṅkara from Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.[74] Though inclined to Vaiṣṇavism, Peddana appears to be liberal-minded in the matter of religion judging from his gifts to the Śaiva temples. The Mēlpāḍi inscription of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya dated A.D.1518 states that Allasāni Peddana made a gift of ornaments such as a crown and a gold handle for fly whisk for the Soḷēndrasiṅgamuḍaiyar temple at Mēlpāḍi.[75] He also presented a silver plate for the goddess Kuṅtalasuṅdarī or Pārvatī. He made these gifts with the money secured from the sale proceeds of three-fourths of the village Tanaippuṇḍi granted to him by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. In the same year he granted several pieces of lands at Kōkaṭam to the Sakalanāthaliṅga temple on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.[76] Apart from

his gifts to the Śaiva shrines, the invocations made to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇapati, Pārvatī and Brahmā at the beginning of his work Manucaritamu reflect his liberal attitude.

Naṅdi Timmana, of the Aṣṭadiggajas, was the disciple of the Śaiva teacher Aghorasivācārya. He was the author of Pārijātāpaharaṇamu and Thriṣṭali Daṇḍakam.

Mādayyagāri Mallana, a Śaiva Brahman, was also a disciple of the above mentioned Aghorasivācārya. He wrote Rājasēkharacaritramu and dedicated it to Nādiṇḍla Appa, brother of Gōpamantri and a devotee of Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara.

Dhūrjaṭi was a follower of Śaivism and composed works of a purely Śaiva character like Kāḷahasti Mahātmyamu and Kāḷahaṣtisvara Śatakamu. He dedicated his works to his Iṣṭadēvata, Kāḷahastisvara, at Kāḷahasti.

Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadra was the author of Sakalakathāsāra Saṅgraha and Rāmābhyudayam. He composed the former according to the command of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Tenali Rāmaliṅga or Rāmakṛṣṇa, as the former name indicates, was a Śaiva in the beginning and became a follower of Vaiṣṇavism later. His famous work is Pāṅḍuraṅgamāhātmyamu which describes the greatness of Pāṇḍuraṅga of Pandharipur. The tolerant outlook of the poet is reflected in many passages of the work. Acyuta, though a staunch Vaiṣṇava, exhibited great tolerance like his half-brother Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. On the occasion of his coronation King Acyutarāya directed Sāḷuva Nāyaka to assign an equal number of villages to the temples of Varadarāja and Ekāmbaranātha at Kaṅci. But Sāḷuva Nāyaka showed partiality to Ekāmbaranātha and Acyutarāya, on hearing this, went to Kaṅci in person and effected the equalisation between the two temples.[77] The Kāmākṣiamma temple received the patronage of Acyutarāya. He granted eight villages to the goddess for offerings on the occasion of his tulābhāra mahādāna. Acyuta also visited many other shrines of Śaiva Gods and Goddesses.[78] He granted a village, Cittikanahalu, to the temple of Prasanna Virūpākṣa Dēva of Jentegallu for the merit of his father Narasa Nāyaka.[79]

Some of the subordinate officers who held important positions under Acyutarāya gave munificent gifts both to Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva temples. For example, Rāmabhaṭṭar was as much a devotee of Viṣṇu as of Śiva. His gifts are recorded both in the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples. In A.D. 1532 he started the Kōḍai Tiruṇāl in the month of Āṇi for God Periyaraghunāthan whose temple stands in the northern part of Tirupati.[80] He constructed a maṇṭapam near the entrance to

Govindarāja's temple at Tirupati, established an agrahara named Tiruveṅkaṭapuram there and sanctified it by installing an image of Raghunātha.[81] He also consecrated an image of Śrī Gōpāla Kṛṣṇa in his topu (grove of trees) in Tirucānūr surnamed Vādirājapuram and provided for its maintenance.[82] He made a gift of the village Ālambākkam[83] in addition to a cash deposit to the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple. In A.D. 1551, during the reign of Sadāśivarāya, Rāmabhaṭṭa made a gift of the village of Sittamanjeri for offerings to the God Vēgavati Raghunāthan.[84]

He arranged for the propitiation of Śrī Kāḷahastīśvara in A.D. 1532 with the income from the village Kāsāram which Acyutarāya granted to him.[85] Similarly he granted villages to the Saṅgamēśvara temple at Saṅgamēśvaram and Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam.[86] The significant aspect of his liberal outlook was the construction of innumerable temples dedicated to various gods like Kṛṣṇēśa, Ammēśa, Mallikārjuna, Vīrabhadra, Viśvanātha, Gōpinātha, and Bacēśvara.[87] RāmaBhaṭlu's wife Timmāji Amman appears to be a follower of Saivism judging from her only grant to god Kāḷahastīśvara for the merit of herself and her husband.[88]

Penugoṇḍa Virūpaṇṇa, a royal officer belonging to the personal staff of Acyutarāya, was a devout Vīra Śaiva and a worshipper of Vīrabhadra residing on the Kūrmaśaila hill at Lēpākṣipura, who had bestowed favours on him. The Vīrabhadra temple which came into prominence as a result of the patronage of Virūpaṇṇa was the recipient of many gifts including villages.[89] The religious eclecticism of Virūpaṇṇa is reflected in his numerous gifts to Vaiṣṇava temples. For example, he made many gifts to the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala between A.D. 1536 and A.D.1542.[90] His first grant was a village called Pasikalapādu situated in Gandikottai sirmai, in addition to a cash deposit for the merit of Emperor Acyutarāya.[91] He also presented a vaṭṭil (cup) of pure gold weighing 330 pagodas valued at 5000 panam to Lord Veṅkaṭēśvara.[92] An inscription on the south wall of the third prākāra in Tirumala temple refers to a maṇṭapam being constructed by Virūpaṇṇa in the Narasa Nāyakkar street at Tirumala.[93] It has been stated that Virūpaṇṇa installed Lord Raghunātha amidst the Śaiva deities as a concession to the Vaiṣṇava leanings of the Vijayanagara emperors.[94] But his independent gifts to the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple and his services to the Mahālakṣmi temple at Lakkhanāpura testify to his tolerant outlook, without reference to any political expediency.[95] Vīraṇṇa Nāyaka, brother of Virūpaṇṇa, following in the foot-steps of his brother, extended patronage to the Mahālakṣmi temple. He sunk a perennial spring called Nutāna Tuṅgabhadra in the village of Modaya for the irrigation of the lands belonging to the Mahālakṣmi temple. He also encouraged the merchants of Ayyāvoḷe

to grant some tolls to be collected in the Friday market held at Lakkhanāpura for worship in the same temple.[96]

The spirit of tolerance that prevailed in the empire is also reflected in the invocatory verses in some of the contemporary epigraphs. For example, a Jaina epigraph paid homage to the Pañcaparamēṣṭins as well as Śambhu.[97] A Vaiṣṇava record states,"May the Gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra ever grant protection to the worlds."[98] Another record seeks the blessings of not only the Trinity but also Ganādhipati. The spirit of tolerance permeated the lower strata of Hindu society also.[99] For example, numerous inscriptions of the period bear testimony to the liberal grants made to the Śaiva as well as the Vaiṣṇava temples by Vipravinōdins and Dommaries, the professional acrobats. For instance, in A.D. 1528 Dommari Mīsaraganḍa Kommaragiri Reḍḍi and Kūtari Sūraparāju granted the Dommaripannu tax of Tippalūru for services in the temples of Śiva and Perumāḷ at Tippalūru.[100]

THE CULT OF HARIHARA

Symbolic of the spirit of religious tolerance in the Vijayanagara empire was the emergence of the Harihara cult, which, as the name implies, was a fusion of the great Gods, Hari or Viṣṇu, and Hara or Śiva, worshipped by the Vaiṣṇavites and the Śaivites respectively. These two religious sects expounding the worship of these Gods,namely, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, represented two divergent approaches to the concept of God or the Supreme Being.They were dominant and institutionalised creeds which profoundly influenced the life and thought of the people by propagating the superiority of their respective beliefs. In the process, the Śaivites contended that Śiva was superior to Viṣṇu and the Vaiṣṇavites eulogised the supremacy of Viṣṇu to the exclusion of Śiva. This sectarian rivalry was carried to the point of bigotry resulting in bitterness, religious feuds and consequent bloodshed. Their mutual antagonism is also reflected in sculptures in the representations of Śiva in the form of Śarabhēśamūrti punishing Nṛisiṁha, etc. A sculptural representation of Śarabhēśamūrti was found on the eastern prākāra wall of the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam.[101] In literary works, Viṣṇu, instead of Śiva, was credited with the destruction of the tripuras or the three cities of Tripurāsura.[102] The emperors and writers of the period, concerned about the religious rivalry which strained the relations between the Vaiṣṇavites and Śaivites, made sincere efforts to bring about reconciliation between the warring sects. Epigraphical, sculptural and literary evidences support this movement for bringing about a synthesis of the conflicting creeds. It is not to say that the Harihara cult was a new

development of the period. But during the Vijayanagara period it was revived with greater vigour and application.

It is significant that one of the founders of Vijayanagara empire bore the name of God Harihara. Assuming that Harihara II was named after his grandfather Harihara, evidence is not wanting to state that Harihara was a devotee of God Harihara. A record dated A.D.1382 belonging to his reign states that Harihara Mahārāya on receiving a commandment from God Hariharēsvara donated a village called Saṅkaripura to Liṅgarasa for the perpetual recitation of the Vēdas and Sāstras in the temple of Hariharēsvara.[103] This record not only proves the existence of the temple as early as A.D. 1382 but also indicates the popularity of the cult during the rule of the Saṅgama dynasty. The Bhānuvalli copper plate grant of Harihara states that King Harihara was justly named Harihara because like Hari he protected the righteous and like Hara destroyed the wicked.[104] An interesting record dated A.D.1429 states that the Nānādēsis of Mamballi provided for the expenses of anointment of God Hariharanātha in order that Pratāpadēva Mahārāya might obtain universal sovereignty. [105] Nārāyaṇadēva, son of Timmarasa of the treasury of gold, granted the village of Ballāpura in equal parts for the annual Satra of God Harihara and a religious teacher of Harihara.[106] Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, Lord of Maṇināgapura,[107] made a grant of the village Kāḍaji for the Satra and necessary offerings in the Harihara temple situated at Kūḍalūr on the eastern bank of the Tuṅgabhadra. In A.D.1562 Mārgasahāya Nāyaka, agent of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, provided for the celebration of the car festival of the God Harihara and His consorts Lakṣmī and Pārvatī.[108]

The Vijayanagara epigraphs contain eulogistic accounts of God Harihara. For example, a record of A.D.1379 furnishes an excellent description of the form of Harihara. "Harihara is the original boar (varāha) by whom was lifted up the earth, its standing crops appearing as if the contact with his body caused its hair to stand erect in ecstasy. Skilled in securing as joint consorts both the daughter of the ocean (Lakṣmī) and the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī), uniting in himself the colours of both the rain cloud and the autumn cloud, the great sole original cause of both the creation and the destruction of the universe, may He ever grant prosperity, the form Harihara, the originator of the world."[109] Another record describes Harihara thus: "His form entwined with the vines, the shining arms of Śrī and Gaurī, the mighty tree of plenty, Harihara do I adore. A pearl ornament for the beautiful (hair) parting of the fair ones Śrī and Gauri, a brilliant wishing stone in granting the desires of the needy, a head - jewel of the Upaniṣads, the sole ornament-jewel of the immortal gods - may He ever grant protection, Harihara, the

preserver of the three worlds. May the sportive boar form of Hari, on whose big tusk, resembling a jasmin bud, the earth shone like a bee, grant protection."[110] The greatness and the pious mission of Harihara is well brought out in a record dated A.D.1385 which states that neither Hari nor Hara alone is able to protect the world from the evils of Kali. The good people believe that both the gods have come to earth in the form of Harihara. [111] The Uttaraharivaṁsa of Nācaṇa Sōmanātha is a treatise composed to establish the abhēda between Śiva and Viṣṇu and to bring about concord between whom apparently there was discord during the period.

BUDDHISM

Buddhism in the Vijayanagara empire, although in a lingering condition, was predominant in a few places like Kaṅcīpuram, Nāgapaṭṭanam and Kaḷāvati. This may be inferred from the existence of sculptures of the Buddha and epigraphs registering grants of villages for the worship of the Buddha.[112]In some places, Buddha was worshipped in the local name of Kaccikan Nāyakar.[113]There was a temple dedicated to Buddha at Tiruvalandurai. [114] A solitary specimen of the image of Buddha is found on a pillar in the mukhamaṇṭapa of the Kōdaṇḍarāmaswāmi temple at Candragiri.Buddha is portrayed as seated, cross-legged, in the Padmāsana posture with his right hand kept in the Vyākhyānamudra and the left hand placed on the lap in the Yōgamudra pose. The hair is tied up into a knot above the head.[115]

Buddha was considered to be an avatar or incarnation of Viṣṇu, a viewpoint supported by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the Varāha Purāṇa, the Agni Purāṇa and the later Purāṇas.[116] A contemporary literary work, Āmukta Mālyada, also includes Buddha among the incarnations of Viṣṇu. According to one legend, Lord Viṣṇu assumed the avatar of Buddha and destroyed the three cities of Tripurāsura with the help of his son, Manmatha. Another version credits Śiva with the destruction of the cities of Tripurāsura. The former version, namely, that Viṣṇu performed the great feat of destruction appearing as Buddha suggests that Buddha was not only accepted as the Supreme Being-Incarnate but was also credited with possessing the supernatural and miraculous powers of God.[117]

ISLAM

The kingdom of Vijayanagara was founded for the purpose of prôtecting Hindu dharma and Hindu culture from the onslaughts of Islām but this did not prevent the monarchs from accepting Muslims as their subjects and giving them adequate protection. The Vijayanagara rulers entertained Muslims in their services and granted jagirs to them.[118] Dēvarāya was careful not to offend the feelings of his Muslim subjects in the discharge of their duties. He ordered a Koran to be placed on a richly ornamented desk so that they could perform obeisance before it "without sinning against their laws".[119] Praudhadēvarāya or Dēvarāya I conferred the government of Pāṇem on a chief called Pōcam Annāri, in A.D.1393, who at the command of the Rāya constructed a fort at the village of Pāṇem. Subsequently, the fort was entrusted to Sabat Mulk, who held Pāṇem for twenty years from A.D.1392 to A.D.1413.[120] Sabat Mulk was followed by Khāna Khāna Voḍeya who held the fort from A.D.1414 to A.D.1444. Sultān Voḍeyar, son of Khāna Khāna Voḍeyar, and his son Rāja Khān Voḍeyar ruled from A.D.1445 to A.D.1497. The assumption of the title Voḍeya by the Muhammadan officers indicates their loyalty to the emperors. Despite the affair of "Cide Marcar," which had proved that no confidence could be invested in a Moor, Kṛṣṇarāya continued to entertain them in his service.[121] The Musalman soldiers were at the vanguard of the Raichur Campaign.[122] Ismain Khān was deputed to subdue the Hindu chief of Gaṇḍikoṭa[123]. Sadāsivarāya followed the example of Dēvarāya II by permitting the Muslims to offer obeisance to him with a Koran on his desk.[124] Prominent among the Muslim officers in his service were Amir Khān and Ainana Mulukka (Ain-ul-mulk Gilāni)[125] and Dil-uvar- Khān.[126] Thus, notwithstanding the fact that the recruitment of Mussalmans in the army personnel afforded them an insight into the secrets of the kingdom, the Vijayanagara emperors proved themselves to be noble examples of the spirit of toleration and the policy of equal treatment of all subjects by recruiting Muhammadans into their armies and giving them responsible positions.

The Vijayanagara rulers encouraged the construction of Dargas. The Bābayya Darga or tomb was a remarkable institution in Penugoṇḍa which came into existence during the period of Saṅgama rule. Tradition carries the story of this saint as follows:

Bābayya, a Muslim Fakir, collected around him a band of followers and established himself at Penugoṇḍa in the favourite Hindu temple of the king of the place, Harihara of Vijayanagar, and refused to quit. The king instead of resorting to force applied several tests to know the spiritual powers of the Fakir and the Hindu priest of the temple. On Bābayya establishing his superior powers, he was permitted to remain in the temple and convert it into a masjid. After the death of Bābayya, the darga was erected and in course of time became a great place of pilgrimage for Mussalamans.[127] The Bābayya darga plates of Veṅkaṭa II dated A.D.1639-40 inform us that Vīra Narasingarāya granted the following villages to the darga, namely, Jilōcarla, Pullasānivoḍḍu, Tōṭi and Tuṅgōḍu. Sadāsivarāya gave some more villages in the Penugoṇḍa rajya to the same institution.[128] While restoring these, Veṅkaṭa appears to have presented to the darga a paddy field and a garden at Jagadivupalyam, a flower garden with well and the right of using water from the kayyam-kaluva.

It is a well-known fact that the emperors invited Muslims from the neighbouring states to come and settle in their capital. The Mussalmans found a congenial atmosphere in Vijayanagara to profess their own creed, build religious edifices according to the dictates of Islām and lead a peaceful life. The Vijayanagara rulers endeavoured to maintain amicable relations with their Muslim neighbours. When Rāmarāya lost one of his sons, his wife adopted Ali Ādil Shāh as her son. This singular instance of adopting a Muhammadan Sultān speaks of the mutual good will of the Hindus and Muhammadans. Rāmarājana Bakhair narrates how the ambassador of Ādil Shāh tried to poison the mind of the Sultān against Rāmarāya. But the Sultān, as the Bakhair narrates, rebuked his ambassador saying, "I should not raise up my hand in opposition to Rājabhuvara. I have acquired the privilege of being called his son. I should not be treacherous (to him) in any manner."[129] Due to force of circumstances Ādil Shāh joined the Muslim league but not willingly. He cut off the head of Rāmarāja in order to avert the dishonour of his being killed at the hands of the other Mussalman kings. According to the Bakhair, Rāmarāja told Adil Shāh, "In as much as you are my son, do not surrender me to the enemy; but cut my head off at one stroke with a sword yourself, and let there be no need for a second."[130]

The spirit of accommodation and good will between the two faiths is also indicated by the fact that a mosque was constructed by a Hindu in A.D. 1537 for the benefit of the Muslim community.[131]

The Vijayanagar rulers encouraged Muslims to settle down and follow their social and religious practices as is evident from the existence of

Muslims quarters in the proximity of temples and small shrines, not separated by any walls or gateways from the Islāmic monuments. This reveals the extent of the integration of the Muslim community into the general mainstream of the population that dwelt within the fortified urban core.

The Muslim quarter consists of tombs, mosques and several columned buildings the purpose of which is not known. Of particular interest is the mosque identified as Dharmasāla, constructed by Ahmad Khān, a Muslim officer of Dēvarāya II, for the religious merit of his master.[132] According to Dr.M.S.Nagarāja Rao," there are six shallow cisterns of earthen rings on the eastern and the northern sides, meant for storing water for the ablation (wazoo) of the people offering prayers in the Dharmasāla, which also served as a mosque, as evidenced by a mihrab having the foil motif in the rear wall." [133] That this Dharmasāla served the purpose of a mosque is also confirmed by George Michell. According to him, the mihrab niche, which is distinctly Islāmic, consisting of a rectangular recess with a trilobed curved top (cut out of a single block) "correctly located in the west wall (as is required in a mosque in India). This niche demonstrates that this structure must have served as a mosque".[134]

Another mosque within the urban core situated about half a kilometre to the south-east of the first mosque described earlier has a similar mihrab in the middle of the west wall.[135] A group of domed tombs located near Kadirampuram, west of the urban core and south of the mosque of Ahmed Khān, suggest that the Muslims, though a minority group, in the Hindu population in Vijayanagara, were fairly large and prosperous. The smaller domeless tomb bears the influence of Hindu architecture with a lintel containing a block in the middle as in temple architecture.[136]

A similar Hindu influence is also visible in the group of small flat-roofed tombs located in the urban core. There were several other structures, fairly large, in the same area which must have served as rest-houses or satras for itinerant travellers, and assembly halls for religious congregations, etc. If they are to be considered as secular institutions by virtue of their situation in prominent positions as George Michel seems to believe, they must have catered to the needs of both Hindus and Muslims, suggestive of Hindu Muslim amity and the catholicity of the Vijayanagara rulers.[137] A distinct influence of Islāmic architecture is discernible in other monuments found in the capital city, like the multi-domed watch tower, a nine-domed reception hall and elephant stables, etc. George Michell appreciated the catholicity of the Vijayanagara rulers in the fol-

lowing words: "Thus we understand that Islāmic forms and techniques were by no means confined to architects and craftsmen working for Muslim patrons: to the contrary, the Hindu Court and military also commissioned to build projects in Islāmic styles. These projects demonstrate unequivocally the ability of the Hindu rulers to incorporate into their unified realm the cultures and artistic traditions of the Muslim community." [138]

CHRISTIANITY

The Vijayanagara emperors gave protection not only to Muslims but also to Christians. The Roman Catholic missionaries indulged in proselytising activities on the Pearly fishery coast. They converted the Paravas on a large scale to Christianity which meant transfer of their political allegiance to the Portuguese. The converts, intoxicated with the tenets of the new faith, began to demolish Hindu temples, proclaiming the supreme sovereignty of the King of Portugal. "The Franciscan Friars, who, from the beginning, were established at St. Thome and at Nagapatam, caused several Hindu temples to be desecrated, and idols destroyed, building in their stead many Christian Churches and Chapels. In the year 1542, they had built at Nagapatam two churches and about three thousand people embraced the Catholic faith. The Jesuits, who came shortly after, followed the example of the Franciscans." [139] Notwithstanding such undesirable activities of the Christian missionaries, the Vijayanagara rulers accorded generous treatment to all foreigners. Barbosa states,"The King allows such freedom that every man may come and go, and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance, and without inquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed by all." [140]

The Vijayanagar rulers accorded a warm welcome to the Portuguese as recorded in the Chronicle of Paes. According to him,when Christovao de Figueiredo visited King Kṛṣṇadēvarāya at Nagalapura, "the king was as much pleased with him as if he had been one of his own people, so much attention did he evince towards him; and also towards those amongst us who went with him he showed much kindness." [141] The Emperor entertained his guests in a befitting manner by making lavish arrangements for food and accommodation. To quote Paes, "The king said many kind and pleasant things to him (Christovao) and asked him concerning thekind of state which the King of Portugal kept; and having been told about it all, he seemed very pleased." [142] The Emperor thankfully acknowledged the help rendered by Christovao de Figueiredo and his men in the capture of the city of Rachol (Raichur) and when he

heard that the Portuguese had killed many Moors that caused the city's destruction he praised their leader saying "what great things could be effected by one good man".[143] It further strengthens the fact that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was not biased against people of other religions or races and did not hesitate to seek their cooperation and friendship. Although it was the policy of the Vijayanagar rulers to protect and preserve traditional Hinduism, they showed immense tolerance to other religious faiths.

The Portuguese,it must be noted,had come to India under a mandate from the Pope to convert all heathens to Christianity.[144] They often resorted to force in their proselytising activities and persecuted both Hindus and Muslims by destroying their temples and mosques. In spite of their fanaticism against other faiths, they were received with cordiality by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya shows his liberal outlook and magnanimity. As a side issue the question arises as to whether Hinduism was influenced by Christian ideas and if so to what extent. This is very difficult to determine and any attempt to do so may be largely inferential. A certain degree of influence must have been there in view of the receptiveness of Hinduism to alien ideas. Dr. Romila Thapar expresses the opinion that "some of Madhva's ideas suggest that he was familiar with and possibly influenced by the Christian Church of Malabar. Vishnu bestows his grace on a devotee through his son Vayu, the Wind-God. This is an idea quite alien to Hindu theology but resembles the concept of the Holy Ghost in Christianity." [145] This seems to be too far-fetched a view to compare the manner of the birth of Hanuman with theChristian concept of the Holy Ghost, as the worship of Hanuman was in vogue centuries before the birth of Christianity. The resemblance if any between the two concepts is purely superficial and cannot be attributed to Christian influence on the age-old Hindu mythological beliefs. The extensive epigraphic, literary evidence and accounts of foreign travellers go to prove that religious tolerance was accepted by both the rulers and the ruled alike in the Vijayanagara Empire at a time when religious bigotry and intolerance of a rival faith were the order of the day.

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32.Rāmābhyudayam, Sources, p.32.

33.Sāḷuvābhyudayam, Sources, p.31. As a mark of his devotion to Viṣṇu, Sāḷuva Mangu extended his munificence to the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala. T.T.D.I. Vo. I, Nos. 179, 180.

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64.E.C.IV, Ch. 109.

65.M E R,1922, No. 727.

66.S.I.I.,Vol. XVI, No. 72.

67.Ep. Ind., Vol.VI, pp. 108-132.

68.E.C.,Vol. IX, Cp. 156; My. Arch. Rep.,1915,Para,93.

69.S II.,Vol.IX, Pt.11, No. 483.

70.Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 702.

71.MER, 1915, No. 16.

72.Theywere Allasāni Peddana, Naṅdi Timmana, Ayyalaraju Rāmabhūṣana and Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa. MER, 1937-38, Para, 69.

73.Manucaritramu, V. 6.

74.MER, 1915, No.623.

75.JBBRAS, Vol. 30, Pt. 1, 1955. The Mēlpāḍi inscription is engraved

on the east wall of the maṇḍapa of the Sōmanathēśvara temple which may be identified with the Solendrasingamudaiyar temple mentioned in the record.

76.MER, 1926, No. 716.

77.MER, 1919, No.584.

78.MER, 1954-55, No.303.

79.MER, 1913, No.196.

80.T.T.D.I., Vol. IV, No. 18.

81.Ibid., No. 61.

82.Ibid., No. 94.

83.Ibid., No. 154.

84.This shows that RāmaBhaṭlu not only served Acyutarāya but also continued during the regin of Sadāśiva Rāya, MER, 1919, No.582.

85.MER, 1924, No.159.

86.Ibid., No. 432.

87.S.I.I., Vol. IX, Pt. 11, No. 592.

88.MER, 1924, No. 167.

89.Ibid., 1937-38, Para,70; Ibid., 1912, Nos. 575, 579, 88, 89, 90, 573, 577.

90.T.T.D.I., Vol. IV, Nos. 77, 101, 78, 141, 119, 172.

91.Ibid., No. 77.

92.Ibid., No. 78.

93.Ibid., No. 158.

94.S.Gopalkrishna Murthy, Lepaksi Kālamaṇḍapam, p.5.

95.MER, 1912, Nos. 71, 72, 73.

96.Ibid., Nos. 69, 70, Para 56.

97.E.C., VIII, Sa. 60.

98.Ibid., Th. 9.

99.Ibid., Th. 130.

100.MER, 1937-38, No. 282.

101.Dr. V.Kamesvara Rao, Select Vijayanagara Temples of Rāyalaseema, Hyderabad, 1976, p.157.

102.Am. Ml, Ch. IV, V. 30.

103.E.C., Vol.XI, Dg.68.

104.My. Arch. Rep.,1933, p.154.

105.EC.,Vol.IV, Yd.160.

106.E.C.,Vol.XI,Dg.28.

107.Ibid., Dg. 18.

108.Ibid., Dg. 83.

109.Ibid., Dg. 34.

110.Ibid., Dg. 23.

111.My. Arch. Rep.,1941, p.243.

112.A.Aiyappan and P.R.Srinivasan, Story of Buddhism with Special Reference to South India, pp. 100, 101.

113.M E R, 1934-35, No. 138; Ibid.,1935, Para 56.

114.Ibid., 1926-27, Para 94.

115.Dr. V.Kamesvara Rao, Select Vijayanagara Temples of Rāyalseema: Published by Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, 1976. p.182.

116.Ibid., p. 182; Prof. P.V.Bapat, "2500 Years of Buddhism", Publications Division, 1964, p.310.

117.Am. Ml.,Ch. IV, V. 30.

118.Paes speaks of the Moors who were present in the review of troops on the occasion of the Mahānavami festival at the capital. Sewell, Forgotten Empire, p.267; Briggs, Ferishta, 11, p. 430-431.

119.Scott, Ferishta, 1, p.118.

120.Fur. So.,Vol. I, p. 107; Vol. III, pp. 50-51.

121.Sewell, Forgotten Empire, p. 308. Nuniz gives the following story of Cide Mercar:"Now it happened at this time that the king (of Bisnaga) sent Cide Mercar with forty thousand paradaos to Goa to buy horses and this man, when he arrived at a place where the Moors lived which was called Pondara and is two leagues from Goa, fled from that place, Pomdaa,to the Ydallacao, carrying with him all the treasure.

122.Sewell, Forgotten Empire,p,314.

123.Pro. I.H.C. VII Session, pp. 253-254.

124.Briggs, The Rise, III, p.79.

125.MER, 1915, Para 52. Rāmarāya granted the village of Bevinahaḷḷi to some Brahmāns on the request of Ain-ul-Mulk Gilāni.

126.E.C.,Vol.X, Kl,147.

127.Madras District Gazetteer, Anantapur, p.192.

128.MER, 1911, Para 59. The epigraphist made the following observation, "This institution was, in all probability, the shrine of the Muhammadan saint BabaNatta to whose astrological forecasts or to those of the priests who presided over that institution much importance was attached by kings and peasants alike. It was perhaps for this reason that the villages mentioned above were granted to the darga by the early kings of Vijayanagara as hora villages, i.e., donative villages meant for encouraging the study of hora (horoscopy)."

129.Fur. So., Vol. III, p.215.

130.Ibid., p.241.

131.E.C., Vol.IV, Kr.95.

132.S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.11, No.477.

133.Vijayanagara, Progress of Research, 1983-84, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, p.19.

134.Ibid., p.105.

135.Ibid., p.107.

136.Ibid., p.109.

137.Ibid., p.117.

138.Ibid., p.118.

139.Father Heras, The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, p.67.

140.Vij. Sex. Cen. Com. Volume, p.34.

141.Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz, The Vijayanagar Empire, pp.32,33.

142.Ibid., p.34.

143.Ibid., p.124.

144.K.A.N. Sastri and Srinivasachari, Advanced History of India, Allied Publishers, p.440.

145.Romila Thaper, A History of India, Vol.I. (Penguin Books), 1981. p.218.

8

Religious Institutions :The Temple

The temple played a significant role, in Medieval South India, in the religious life of the people as a focal point of their devotion and piety. Not only was it a potent religious institution but it was also a centre of multifarious, ail- pervasive, socio-economic functions. It was in fact a town or a city in miniature depending upon the extent of its resources.

As Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has commented, the variegated economic functions of the temple make it the citadel of economic power enjoying a status co-equal to that of the state.[1] It was the one institution of the time that received in a generous measure the patronage of both the ruler and the ruled. This patronage was usually in the form of gifts of villages, portions of villages or plots of cultivated land, taxes, cattle, cash, jewels,etc. The land granted to the temple served the purpose of providing a perpetual source of income for maintaining a specified ritual service in the name of the donor of the land.[2] The cash gifts, besides being utilised for the cultivation of temple lands and cash payments for services, were invested, directly or indirectly, through loans in productive enterprises yielding fair returns in cash or kind. According to Burton Stein, monetary endowments seem to have replaced land endowments in major temples like the Tirupati temple as the temple managers faced some practical problems in administering villages situated far away from the temples.[3] However, that this was not a general feature of all the temples is evident from the innumerable grants of villages to other temples of the macro-region.[4]

The Vijayanagara kingdom was a politico-economic system based chiefly on land tenure and there was a tendency to grant land in lieu of

cash salaries even to the temple employees. Probably the cash donations received by temples were not so productive as they had to be invested not in productive but speculative enterprises. Moreover, with the grants of land to temple employees, temples transferred the responsibility of cultivating the lands to employees who in turn gave the lands for lease to local cultivators.[5] These leases were executed in the name of the God to whom the temple was dedicated. This gave a sanctimonious character to the transaction between the temple and the tenants, its continuance or duration being dependent upon the efficient discharge of their duties and upon their loyalty to the land lord,namely, the temple. The tenants were also controlled by the temple by enforcing the strict usage of fixed units of measurement to measure the grain,etc.[6] Thus land grants may be considered as symptomatic of the feudal character and over- lordship of the temple organisation. In the opinion of D.N. Jha,"the feudal trait of the medieval South Indian temples owes a great deal to dēvadāna gifts of land which they received from the Pallava period onwards".[7]

Besides being a big and active land owner, the temple played a crucial role in the economic life of the people through excavation and maintenance of irrigation works, through giving loans, and reclamation of lands,etc. For example, in the year A.D. 1382, the authorities of the Śiva temple at Tiruppaṇanigāḍu donated some of the temple lands to the villagers of the same place in order to effect the necessary repairs to the village tank breached at the sluice.[8] In A.D. 1372 the Rāmēśvara temple at Gundlupet agreed to give a loan of 150 Gadyanas to the ryots of that place for conducting Rudrābhiṣēka to the God.[9] Similarly, the treasury of Tirumaḷisiāḷvār at Paḍaipparṛu purchased two pieces of land from another temple situated in the same place, reclaimed those lands by means of a new channel and leased them for two hundred paṇams per year.[10] The temple also mobilized its resources of land and money for relief work during famines.[11]

The crops grown on temple lands provided the ingredients for the food offerings referred to as prasādam in the temple records made to the God daily as a part of the temple ritual and also on innumerable festive occasions. Obviously, the temple was the largest consumer of goods like rice, pulses, pepper, ghee, oils, salt, cardamom, fenugreek, turmeric, khuskhus, sandal paste, camphor, saffron and musk, betel leaves and arecanuts.

The food offerings, after being presented to the deities, were distributed among the temple functionaries, as maintenance allowance, and the donors of money. The consecrated food, which increased with the ritual performance, and a corollary of the liberal patronage of the

Vijayanagara rulers, acquired an economic value. It was considered sacred and its consumption brought religious merit to the devotees. There was a regular trade in consecrated food as the temple leased the right to sell prasāda to private individuals or empowered the donors to sell their share of the consecrated food.[12]

As citadels of economic power the temples enjoyed an enormous income in the form of taxes, house rents, rents from shops,etc. These taxes were either collected by the temple authorities directly in certain villages or levied under instructions from the government. Inscriptions provide a large number of taxes that flowed into the temple treasury, such as Dhānyavargam, Kaḍamai, Ponvari, Vāsalvari, Tarikkadamai, Pēṛkaḍamai, Sandai, Makamai, Kuttakai, Nityamūla Visannāḍu, Talārikkam, Mādārikkam, Perāyam, Narasaraṇyāsa-vargam, Teppāṭṭu-sarakku, Mēlakai, Māgamai, Kōḍai, (summer taxes), Āyam, Aṛuppu, Uḷḷāyam, Mulaivīsam and Taragu.[13] As temples became larger, more elaborate and more costly, public subscriptions or additional taxes were sometimes levied to provide additional revenue for the temple.

The temple as an economic institution helped the economy of the state in various ways. It attracted a large number of pilgrims and the "pilgrims clienteles" stimulated trade. This created an environment of "pilgrimage-associated trade" during special festivals particularly in addition to the regular fairs or 'santhes' held in the vicinity of the temple. The periodic fairs acted as links between local trade and itinerant trade organisations, and added to economic prosperity.[14] Sandal paste, camphor, saffron and musk, all of them expensive ingredients, were probably purchased from the itinerant trade organisations by the temple. Temples owned houses, house sites and shops from which they could collect rent. R.S. Sharma points out that with the practice of collecting tolls, levied on sale of commodities or on shops by the temples, the "temples" came to wield some control over the economic activities of the artisans and merchants which they could regulate in their narrow interests.[15]

The temple economy was characterised by an elaborate division of labour. All the big temples and celebrated shrines in the macroregion maintained large establishments consisting of administrative officials, service staff, priests, dancers, singers and instrumentalists, Paurāṇikas, Vēdic scholars, conch-blowers, sacred parasol bearers, lamp lighters, potters, washermen, astrologers, tailors, jewel stitchers, brazier-lighters, carpenters, goldsmiths,etc.

Sthānikas or Sthānattar:

Among these the Sthānikās or Sthānattar held an important place in the administrative hierarchy in whose name all the documents or śilāśāsanams registering grants to the temple were executed by the donor.[16] The Sthānikās received lands as vṛittis for their services to the temple. They were also entitled to a share of the prasādam in the temple as is attested to by innumerable inscriptions. They had the onerous duty of maintaining the properties of the temple in addition to the appointment and dismissal of temple servants. For example, in A.D. 1370 Duggaṇṇadēva, an officer in the palace of Kaṁpaṇa Voḍeyar, granted the village Sātipaṭu for the service of the God Modalīsvaramoḍeya Nāyanār of Tiruvāḍi and placed it in charge of the Sthānika of the temple.[17] In A.D. 1408, King Vīrabhūpati Voḍeya made a gift of Sarvamānya land to the Sthānikās of the temple of Tirunīlakaṇṭham Uḍaiya Nāyanār at Tiruppaḍikkarai for providing offerings.[18] Similarly, in A.D. 1503 Homnapa Nāyuḍu granted land in the village of Pāṇem to the Sthānikās of the Pāṇikēsvara temple for building a village and for services in the temple at Pāṇem.[19] In A.D. 1540, the residents of Perunagar deposited 50 paṇam with the Sthānikas of the temple of Piccha Nāyanār for burning two lamps before the God during day-time.[20] In A.D. 1544, Tirumalayya of Jokaṁ pūṇḍi made a gift of land in Mēḍikurti to the Sthānikas of the temple Nīlakanthēsvara for the merit of King Rāmarāja and Pemmasāni Timmanāyaka.[21] Pōli Reḍḍi and Basvi Reḍḍi entrusted fifty māḍas to the Sthānikās of the Agastyēsvara temple at Ciḍipirāla for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple.[22]

The Sthānattar also participated in the service conducted in the temple. The Sthānattar of a temple at Perunagar agreed to provide for offeringsand worship to Aḷagiya Nāyinār and his consort from the interest on 18 Varāhanpaṇam received by them from a certain individual.[23] The Sthānikās of the Vācēsvara temple at Tiruppacchūr agreed to take the God in procession to the garden on the fifth day of the Āni festival and to provide the necessary offerings on the occasion with the money received from Mallaṇangal.[24] Thus the Sthānattar who received gifts of cash or land for Bhōgas in the temple were, by implication, required to invest the cash or make proper arrangements for the cultivation of the land, from out of the interest on cash or the yield from the land for the maintenance of the Bhōga for which the gift was made. The Sthānikās had the authority to gift away lands that belonged to the temple. For example, the twelve Sthānikās of the Tiruveṅgaḷanātha temple and the adhikāri Ellā Piḷḷai made a grant of land to the temple of Gōpināthadēva at Ōlēru which had been granted by Ayyaparasayya to God Tiruveṅgaḷanātha for the merit of the King.[25] They also enjoyed the power of selling the rights

of worship in the temple. For example, in A.D. 1470 , the four sets of Sthānikās in the temple at Tiruvāṇaikkā sold the right of worship with its privileges including house sites to a certain Bagavānār Āṇḍaperumāḷ of Kaitavanallūr.[26] The Sthānattār also leased the temple lands to the cultivators, extended loans and carried out repairs and renovations in the temple.[27] They also administered justice by punishing the culprits who were involved in the misappropriation of temple funds and properties and other malpractices.[28]

The activities of the Sthānattar were controlled by government officials who supervised the work of the Sthānikās.[29] For example, a record of the reign of Sadāsivarāya states that Jñānaprakāsa Pandaram of Tiruvārūar was appointed supervisor of Śikkal, Vaḍakuḍi, Vōdācchērī and other temples under orders of Kṛṣṇarasayya, son of Aḷiya Rāmarasayya.[30] The Sthanāthar also participated in the service conducted in the temple.

Pūjāris:

The Pūjāris or priests conducted the pūja or worship in the temple at the proper times. The priests of the Vaiṣṇava temples were known as Naṁbimar and Jīyar.[31] In the Saiva temples Śrīrudras, Śrī Mahēsvaras and Taṁbaḷās conducted the pūja.[32] The arcakās or priests that were employed in the temple were granted lands, cash and a portion of the food offered to the deity in the temple. The allowance given to the priest was known as arcana vṛitti.[33] The priests had the privilege of selling their rights of worship to priests of other temples. For example, in A.D. 1384 the three priests of the temple of Tirukkāmīśvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār at Āragaḷūr sold their rights of worship in the temple to a priest of the temple of Tiruvalañjiram Uḍaiya Nāyanār at Valañjiram.[34]

The number of priests varied from temple to temple.

The Sēnāpati Durandhara:

The Sēnāpati Durandhara was an administrative chief who looked after the smooth running and efficient co-ordination of different services. He also held charge of the signet of the discus with which he sealed the box of jewels belonging to God. He supervised the daily routine in the storehouse, kitchen, flower garden, and saw that articles from the respective departments were supplied properly for Divine service. He assigned the temple servants to their respective duties. The Sēnāpati Durandhara received the temple honours of tīrtham, sandal paste, parivaṭṭam, garlands, betel, etc.[35]

Pārupatyagār:

The Pārupatyagār was the executive officer of the temple. He supervised the servants of the temple and the administration of temple properties.[36]

Viṇṇapam Śaivār:

The Viṇṇapam Śaivār recited the sacred names of God and the sacred texts like Śaiva Āgamās, and the Prabandham of the Āḻvārs at the appropriate timeslike tirumañjanam (sacred bath) and tiṟunāḷ (festival). They played on the musical instruments during pūja. Certain temple honours likeofferingsof silk and cotton parivattams and arulappādu were enjoyed by them.[37]

Tiruppatiyār:

The Tiruppatiyār were in charge of the lamps in the temple. Their duty was to bring ghee from the store house, prepare lamps and hand them over to the priests during daily pūja and festivals. They also provided the sacrificial fuel and the darbha grass for the daily and special service in the sanctum. They would carry the hand lamps during processions.[38]

Tiruppāṇi Śaivar:

The Tiruppāṇi Śaivar carried the Samayacatra or the "umbrella celebrating the victory of the creed" while the God was taken out in processions.[39]

Kaikkōḷar:

The Kaikkōḷar carried out certain duties in the temple like decorating the maṇṭapam, fanning the deity with camaras, blowing the conch and the trumpets, lighting lamps with oil supplied by the kitchen, supplying plantain leaves from the garden for packing prasādam. They also assisted the Dēvadāsis in the discharge of their duties. They carried the box containing the jewels of God when He was taken out for sacred bath. The Kaikkoḷās enjoyed the honour of receiving the parivaṭṭam.[40]

Dāsa Naṁbis:

The Dāsa Naṁbis laid the flower gardens in the temples, held the torches inside the temple and outside it, and prepared the palanquin for the procession. They were given tīrtham, prasādam, parivaṭṭam and a garland.[41]

Dēvadāsis:

The dedication of women to temples for rendering service to the presiding deity of the temple was a widely prevalent custom of the times. These women, consecrated for religious service, were called Dēvadāsis or Tiruvīdhisānis.

Regarding the Dēvadāsis, Paes made the following observation: "They feed the idol every day, for they say that he eats; and when he eats, women dance before him, who belong to that pagoda, and they give him food and all that is necessary, and all girls born of these women belong to the temple. These women are of loose character, and live in the best streets that there are in the city; it is the same in all their cities, their streets have the best rows of houses. They are very much esteemed and are classed amongst those honoured ones who are the mistresses of the captains; any respectable man may go to their houses without any blame attaching thereto. These women are allowed even to enter the presence of the wives of the king, and they stay with them and eat betel with them, a thing which no other person may do, no matter what his rank may be."[42] Paes further notes that the dancing girls followed the triumphal cars during the temple festivals.[43]

The account of Paes gives one the impression that the Dēvadāsis resorted to a life of legalised prostitution to gain wealth and glory. But that they were highly accomplished and commanded social respect cannot be denied. Some of them were highly devoted to God and sacrificed their lives to the cause of religion. One such instance was that of a Dēvadāsi of the Śrīraṅganātha temple whose descendants enjoy certain privileges even today. This bewitching beauty, as the Ācāryasūkti Muktāvaḷi relates, saved the temple from destruction during the Muhammadan invasions. She killed a Muhammadan chief by throwing him down from the Vellagopura of the Śrīraṅgam Temple when he was entranced with her charms. She immediately threw herself from the same tower and put an end to her life.[44] The Paramayōgi Vilāsamu[45] and Prapannāmṛtam[46] relate the story of Dēvadēvī, the winsome Dēvadāsi of the Uttamasvāmi temple at Kadaṁbanagara, situated on the northen bank of the Kāvērī.

Contemporary inscriptions furnish a good account of the temple damsels. King Acyutarāya deputed some damsels to serve in the temple of Śrī Veṅkaṭēśa at Tirumala. In A.D. 1531 Muddukuppāyi, daughter of Raṅjakam Kuppasāni, was ordered to perform dance in the temple and to receive one taḷigai-prasādam daily for her maintenance from the temple of Gōviṅdarāja at Tirupati.[47] The dancing girls attached to the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati expressed their devotion to

Veṅkaṭēśvara of Tirumala through their benefactions. Liṅgasāni and Tiruveṅkaṭamāṇikkam, daughters of Tippasāni, made provision for offerings during festivals.[48] In A.D. 1535, they made provision for certain offerings to be made in the Gōviṅdarāja temple at Tirupati during Vaikāsi and Āni- Brahmōtsavam.[49] A similar gift was made by them in A.D. 1540.[50] Gōviṅdasāni and Cikkayasavāyi, daughters of Pōlunāyakkar[51] and Perucci,[52] were attached to the Gōviṅdarāja temple at Tirupati. Hanumasāni, daughter of Uḍḍida Timmayyan, was another dancing girl sent by Acyutarāya to serve in the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala.[53]

The temple of Arulāḷa- nāḍar at Tēkkal maintained a number of dancing girls. The more famous and accomplished of these dancing girls enjoyed certain privileges and preferences over the others. Malaiyāttai Śrīraṅga- Nāyakiyār Māṇikkam, daughter of Seṇḍikka- dēvī, was assigned to do the first performance in the temple of Aruḷāḷa- nāḍar in addition to certain land grants and her sister Varadī was granted the first turn in performing dance in the temple of the consort of the God.[54]

The dancing girl in the Parvatagirīśvara temple at Kunnandar Kōyil repaired the northern wall of the temple which had fallen down.[55]

A certain Sellappa presented a dancing girl to the temple of Rājākkaḷ- Nāyinār Rajēndrasōḷa Perumān.[56] An epigraph dated A.D. 1476 recorded a land gift to the dancing women maintained by Mudigoṇḍa Colīśvaramudaiya Nāyanār temple at Kaḍagattūr.[57]

There were dancing girls in the temples of Dēvargal Taṁbirānār and Pañcākṣaranāḍar at Kūgaiyūr. Mrittunjaya Nāyakkar made a gift of land to these dancing women in A.D. 1524.[58] The Vīra Pāñcāhaḷa of Terakanaṁbi and various other places provided for the maintenance of dancing girls dedicated to the Rāmanātha temple at Vijayapura.[59] The Brahmans of Prasanna Vijayapura or Vijayapura made a grant for the support of the dancing girls in the same temple.[60]

Among the Vīra Śaiva communities, one girl from each family was dedicated to a Śaiva shrine. These girls were called Basavis. An inscription of the reign of Virūpākṣa Mahārāya dated A.D. 1470 refers to two Basavis connected with the Mallikārjuna temple at Saṁpige. Mahādēvī and Mākajji, the Basavis, served as singing and cymbal girls.[61] Liṅgi Akki, Elli Pedanāgi were attached to the Vīrabhadra temple at Kākāni.[62]

Ekāngi:

It was the duty of the Ekāngis to prevent outsiders from trespassing into the arena of God inside the sanctum which was demarcated by a screen and kept watch during worship allowing none but the temple ser-

vants.[63]

Sāttādamudalis:

They prepared garlands for the use of the deity in the temple and decorated the maṇḍapas with flowers daily and on festive occasions. They carried the censers, clothes, gold and silver torches and acted as the bodyguards of the Jīyars and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas bearing the Rāmānujam sword.[64]

Vēttirapāṇis or mace holders:

They enforced order with the aid of two gold rods, two silver rods and two canes in the sanctum and when the idol was taken out in procession, they made way for the procession to pass through warning the people assembled to witness the procession. They maintained silence during special services and the recitation of the Prabandhas.[65]

Artisans:

Śilpācāri or the sculptor belonged to the group of artisans or Kammāḷas, He made new idols for the temple when required, decorated the 'Kalasa' on the Vimāna, renovated the damaged gopuras and painted pictures on the flag of the flag staff.[66]

It was the duty of the goldsmith to repair the damaged jewels of the deity, polish the old ones, prepare new ornaments, vehicles of gold and vessels.[67] The coppersmith prepared articles like vessels of copper, etc. which were used for worship in the temple and repaired the damaged ones. The bell metal worker had to cast bells, gongs, platters, torches, pedestals, standing lamps, etc. The carpenter made umbrellas, huge circular fans, badges of honour in addition to decorating the flag staff and the maṇḍapas. The potter prepared the cauldrons, carried the required vessels to the Tirumaṇḍapas and attended to such other work.[68]

Vāsal Kollar:

The watchman's duty was to guard the temple and its properties from robbers and mischief doers. By way of remuneration he was given lands and houses. For example, Tittāra Piḷḷai of Kañci made a gift of a house and some special privileges to the watchman in the Lakṣmīnarasiṁhamūrti temple at Narasiṅgāpuram.[69] In addition to these, a host of other employees of the temple figure prominently in the contemporary records like Tēvaiyāl (temple cook); Siṅgamuṛaiyan (supplier of firewood); Tiruvēṭṭuvagai (proclaimer); Muṭṭukkārar (time - keeper); Naṭṭuvar (dance master); Dōla-nāgasvarakārar (drummer and pipers); Kuyavar (potter); Uvachchan (drummer); Tiruveṅkaṭa-pichchan (lamp-

lighter); pachchaḍikkārar (distributor); Kaṅgāṇippan (supervisor); mēgaraiyar (brass vessel supplier); Pañcalattār (smith).[70] Though it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of temple servants that even smaller temples maintained, as many as ninety servants, is known from inscriptional evidence. A record of the reign of Veṅkaṭapati dated A.D. 1602 testifies to the employment of one hundred and forty-one servants (Sēvugālavāru) in the temple of Āḍivarāha at Śrīmūṣṇam. Friedhelm Hardy rightly pointed out that the complexity of the temple ritual justified the existence of innumerable professional servants.[71]

The temple also enjoyed primary importance among charitable institutions. The inscriptions recording gifts to temples provide for distribution of food to wayfarers, pilgrims and other devotees, besides many employees of the temples. Temples maintained satras or alms houses which were of a sectarian character being devoted wholly or mainly to feeding Brahmans, Vaiṣṇavas, Jaṅgamas, etc. There were also others which catered to all without distinction of caste. A record of the reign of Acyutadēvarāya states that a portion of the prasādam offered to God Śrī Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam was set apart for feeding Brahmans, Sudras and Paradēsis.[72] Thus arrangements were made for feeding all people at all times in conformity with śāstraic injunctions as well as the time-honoured practice that food could be offered to any one irrespective of caste or creed. No wonder the temple strove to maintain social solidarity and promote social mobility through the maintenance of alms houses. They also prevented extreme territorial segmentation of society and culture by attracting classes and masses.[73]

The temple acted as a mediator in local disputes, and brought about social solidarity and cohesion among sectarian and caste groups and families. For example, in A.D. 1381-82, two parties of Araiyars who fought with each other resulting in loss of life on both sides entered into a covenant addressed to the trustees of the temple of Kuḷandai Nāyakkar agreeing to maintain friendly relations. The parties recognised the temple as a tribunal to such an extent that it was even empowered to confiscate the lands as Dēvadāna belonging to the offender who violated the agreement. Other temples served a similar purpose in the macro-region.[74]

The temple also served as a kind of town hall-cum-record office. Thither disputants repaired, settled their disputes, and set up inscribed stones embodying details of the settlement. In the temple also assembled leaders of socio-functional organisations to settle questions relating to the functioning of their respective organisations. For example, in A.D. 1455 two sections of seṭṭis of Bārakūru entered into an agreement

in the Viṣṇumūrti temple at Bārakūru consenting to observe the boundary line for their respective localities as agreed to by them.[75] Similarly, the social groups like Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai used Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elavānāśūr to revise the rates of taxes to be collected from the tenants and others who were subject to oppression earlier.[76]

The temple served, also as an educational institution in so far as it employed a large number of Brahmans well-versed in Vēdas, Purāṇas, philosophy and grammar who were closely associated with it in officiating at the various rituals and ceremonies connected with service in the shrine. In addition to these, the temple employed Vēdic scholars who imparted instruction in their respective fields of specialisation to students who, eager to drink at the fountain of their knowledge, flocked to them from far and near. The Vijayanagara rulers were promoters of Vēdic religion and took measures for the revival of Vēdic studies in the temples.[77] These students were provided with free boarding and lodging in the choultries or Satras attached to the temples. The Purāṇikas or Purāṇa Bhaṭṭar on the temple staff held regular Purāṇa reading sessions and discussions at fixed hours for the edification and enlightenment of the common man, thus helping to preserve and promote the tradition of moral fervour and spiritual yearning among the populace.[78] They were given land gifts, cash remuneration and daily allowances for their maintenance.

The Vēdapārāyaṇam or recitation of the Vēdas was conducted regularly in the temples. The Vijayanagara rulers, being promoters of Vēdic religion, took measures for the revival of the Vēdic studies in the temples. In A.D. 1389 Virūpaṇṇa Uḍaiyar granted the village Asugi for the recitation of the Vēda daily in the Aruṇācalēśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[79] Dēvarāya II revived Vēda in the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumalai.[80] During his reign twenty-four Mahājanas or learned men of Siddhakuṭṭai alias Śrīnivasāpuram were engaged for chanting the Vēda in the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala.[80] During the reign of Sāḷuva Immaḍi Narasiṅgarāya, Epili Nāyakkar made a gift of tax free land in Tipparāsapuram to three Brahmans for the recitation of the Vēdas in the temple of Maṅgaināthēśvara at Piranmalai.[81] Similarly, in A.D. 1534 King Acyutarāya made a grant of land to a Brahman who recited the Vēdas in the Ūbalēśvara temple at Ūbācchamman-samudrām.[82] The Divyaprabandham of the Āḻvārs was given great importance in the Vaiṣṇava temples of the period. Like the Vēdic pandits the reciters of the Prabandhams were given land gifts, cash remuneration, and daily allowance for their maintenance. Tiruvāymoḻi, Tiruppallāṇḍu, Iyarpā, Iyal, were recited in the presence of the Divine Being. In A.D. 1355, Kōmaṅgaḷam Uḍaiyan Sūriyadēvar alias Tiruvāymoḻidāsar received a gift

of land and a daily allowance of cooked rice for reciting Tiruvāymoḷi in the Arulāḷānadar temple at Tekkal.[83] Similarly, provision was made for the recitation of Tiruppalāṇḍu, a small poem in Tamil in praise of Viṣṇu which forms part of the Nālāyiraprabandham.[84] Nandiminṭi Koṇḍu Seṭṭi and Mūlaṅgi Timmu Seṭṭi provided for the chanting of the Iyarpā in the Śrīraṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam.[85] During the reign of Acyutarāya, Akkācci Amman endowed a sum of 146 poṇ for recitation of the Vēdas and Tiruvāymoḷi during the annual festival of Śrīraṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam.[86] In the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala the following Prabandhams were recited: Tiruvāymoḷi, Tiruppallāṇḍu, Tirumoḷi, Tirup-pāvai, Tiruvantādi Vaiyantakaḷi, Tiruvantādi Anpētakaḷi, Tiruvantādi Tirukkaṇḍēn, Periya Tirumoḷi, Amalanadārpiran Tiruvāymoḷi, Tirumalai, Perumāḷ Tirumoḷi, Tirucchanda viruttam and Nānmukan Tiruvantādi, Kaṇṇinun Śṭruthāmbu, Iyal, etc.[87]

In addition to the Prabandham of the Āḷvārs different Purāṇas were read in the temple. The Kausika Purāṇa was read on the Kausika dvādasi days during the Cāturmāsya in the Arulāḷ Perumāḷ temple at Kaṅci.[88] Jñānacintāmani was recited daily in the Śrīraṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam.[89] A work of the same name, Jñānacintāmaṇi-pustakam, was presented to the Kāḷahastīśvara temple at Kāḷahasti by Acyutarāya in A.D. 1532, probably to be recited in the temple. The Bhakti Sañjīvini Purāṇam was recited by the Vaiṣṇava Brahmans in the Narasiṁha Perumāḷ temple at Narasiṅgāpuram.[90] Bhakta Sañjivi composed by Tirumalai Amman was read by the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas in the Śrīraṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam.[91]

Tiruveṅkaṭa Māhātmyam compiled by Paśiṇḍi Veṅkaṭatturaivār, alias Jīyar Rāmānujayyan and Veṅkaṭācala Māhātmyam Daśādhyāya, a part of Śrīraṅgamāhātyam, were read in the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala.[92] The Paṇḍit who recited the Purāṇa was known as the Purāṇa Bhaṭṭar.[93] Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa received a gift of land from Adhikāri Saṇṇu Nāyaru and the residents of Bailūr for expounding the Purāṇas daily in the temple of Madakēśvara at Bailūr. The donee was also the recipient of a gift from Surēśvara Śrīpāda and several residents of the village of Bailūr for ex-pounding the Purāṇas on the thirty days of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the Maṭha belonging to the Śrīpāda.[94]

The temple was an institution founded with the consent and active cooperation of the rulers and the ruled. It is, therefore, but natural that with the effective functioning of this corporate institution, kings, imperial officers and local assemblies should have been associated. For instance, Dēvarāya II issued an order stating that certain unjust taxes collected from the tenants, servants and other residents of the villages belonging to

the Ādhipurīśvara temple at Tiruvorriyur by the imperial officers should be collected by the Mahēśvaras of the temple and the lands leased to the temple servants be redeemed with royal patronage.[95] Similarly, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya redressed the grievances of the Sthānikas of the Perumāḷ temple at Vijayanagara and also presented them with a garland, a head-dress, a horse and an umbrella.[96] However, temples which enjoyed unlimited rights over the endowed land or villages and certain immunities on religious grounds were not free from accountability for any irregularities in their management. When these were brought to the notice of the kings the culpable servants of the temple were dismissed.[97] The temple priests who committed theft of temple jewels were punished with the confiscation of their properties.[98] Not infrequently, the disputes between the priests and the managers of the temple were referred to the village assemblies.[99]

WORSHIP:

The service conducted in the temple was divided into three categories: nitya, naimittika and kāmya, i.e., daily worship, worship with reference to a cause such as an eclipse and worship according to one's desire. The daily service was divided into eight stages performed during the eight Yamas: early dawn, morning, midday, afternoon, evening, forenight, midnight and end of the night. At each part of the day Sodasopacāra pūja consisting of sixteen services was conducted for the God. The sixteen services are the following: invocation (āvahana), establishment (sthāpana), offering water for the feet (padyatōya), offering water for drinking (ācamana), offering water for the head (arghya), sacred bath (abhiṣēka), offering cloth, ornaments and perfumes (vastra and gandha), offering flowers and garlands (puṣpa pūjan), offering incense and light (dhūpa and dīpa), offering foodstuff (naivēdya), offering the remains to bull, pita, etc., (bali), offering at the sacrificial fire (hōma), offering Śrī bali during nityōtsavas to Indra and other presiding deities of the quarters, offering vocal and instrumental music (gēyavādya), offering dance (nṛitta) and Udvāsana. In the Vaiṣṇava temples, particularly, the temple ritual became elaborate and complex as Vaiṣṇavism was essentially a Bhōga-oriented religion. A certain symbolism existed between Viṣṇu temples and the king's palace. Viṣṇu in the temple is treated like a Chieftain or King. Bringing out the significance of this symbolism Friedhelm Hardy observed that paḷḷiyelucci or suprabhātam to be sung in the morning to wake up the God, dressing of the vigraha, decorating it with ornaments, fanning it with a cāmara, holding a parasol over its head (both the chowrie and the parasol are royal insignia), etc., entertaining Him with music, song , and dance are indications of this symbolism.[100] It may be added that the celebration of festivals like Pāḍiyavēṭṭai or hunting

festival and Vasantōtsavam or spring festival strengthens this symbolism. The main items of worship may be described as follows:

Abhiṣēkam or holy bath:

In Vaiṣṇava temples this was known as Tirumañjanam.[101] Abhiṣēka or the sacred bath was an important service during which the deity was bathed with water and later anointed with pulugu or civet oil. In A.D. 1385, the palanquin bearer Nāgabōyuḍu constructed a well for providing water for the sacred bath of God[102] Rāmaliṅgēśvara at Śāntajūṭūru. In A.D. 1564, a certain individual made a gift of the income from the two villages Vīramanallūr and Kumaramaṅgaḷam for providing pulugukāpu or civet oii oblation every day to Lord Śrīraṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam.[103] In A.D. 1567, Mahānāyakācārya Malināyinigāru of Kambhālapādu gave a plot of land to God Rāmēśvara of Yeraguḍi for the Pañcāmṛita abhiṣēka.[104] During the reign of Veṅkaṭadēva Mahārāja four villages were granted to the temple of Cidaṁbarēśvara and Śivakāmasuṅdari Ammai for meeting the expenses of oblations and sacred bath in early mornings.[105] In case of the proximity of the holy rivers, water was brought from the rivers for the sacred bath of the God.[106] On festive occasions, abhiṣēka was performed for the processional images.[107] Gandhōdaka tirumañjanam or bath with sandal was also performed.[108] Rudrābhiṣēka was conducted in the Śiva temples.[109]

Alaṅkāram:

After sacred bath, clothes, ornaments and perfumes were offered to God. Inscriptions refer to nava ratna snāpana, nava vastrābharaṇa, sakalaphala vastu darśana, puṣpamālāvalōkana and perfumery as a part of the God's toilette.[110] Many kinds of ornaments made of gold, precious gems and pearls were given to God for his decoration. King Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and Acyutarāya presented jewels studded with precious stones to the temples particularly of Śrīraṅgam, Siṁhācalam and Tirumala. Vuḍudhārā, aḍḍikās, Vyjayaṁthīmāla, Kaṭhāri (sword), Nicchala Kaṭhāri, Bhujakīrti, Kaṇṭhamālai, Kaphā (garment for the body), Bāhuvalayam (ornaments for shoulders), etc., were some of the ornaments used for Divine decoration.[111]

Puṣpa Pūjā:

Flowers were offered to God in large quantities in the course of daily worship and during festivals. Flower garlands were presented to Him as a part of His Alaṁkāra.[112] To ensure the regular supply of flowers the temples maintained flower gardens or Naṁdavanams.[113] Lands were granted for laying out Naṁdavanams for supply of flowers to the temple.[114] For example, a servant of Sāyaṇa Uḍaiyar made a gift of the

village Milaivitagam for the supply of a garland and for the laying out of a flower garden to the temple of Aruḷāḷ Perumāḷ at Little Conjeeveram.[115] To the same temple, Sāḷuva Timmarāja, son of Sāḷuva Vijayadēva Mahārāja made a gift of land for a flower garden in A.D. 1553.[116] Similar gifts were made to the Raghunāyaka temple at Vinukoṇḍa and that of Śrī Cennarāya of Mirṭūru.[117]

Of the different kinds of flowers offered to God, red lotus was held in high esteem.[118]

Nityadīpam:

Nityadīpam or offering of perpetual lamps was an important feature of temple worship. For the maintenance of Nityadīpam or perpetual lamps in the temple, gifts of cows and cash were made by the devotees.[119] The ministers of Vīrabhūpatirāya, Cauṇḍarasa and Āḍittarasa presented sixty-four cows for maintaining perpetual lamps in the presence of Nṛittanātha at Cidaṁbaram.[120] In A.D. 1386 Kaṇṇāttai, the nurse of King Viruppaṇṇa, made a gift of fifteen cows with calves for lighting lamps in the Śrīraṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam.[121] In A.D. 1390 Aṇṇappa Uḍaiyar Cauṇḍappa provided for a perpetual lamp by donating thirty cows to the same temple.[122] The residents of Marudāḍu made a gift of land for burning two twilight lamps in the Agastyēśvara temple at Koḍuṅgallūr.[123] Mallaṇṇa, the Chief Minister of Dēvarāya I and Dēverāya II, presented eighty-two head of cattle for maintaining a special lamp called Naṁdāviḷakku burnt with ghee and three other lamps.[124] Periya ōbaḷa Nāyakkar Rāma Nāyakkar who served Vīra Narasiṁha as his General presented hundred cows in A.D. 1504 for lighting a lamp; fifty cows a second time in A.D. 1512, for another lamp and two hundred cows in A.D. 1514, for the supply of curd, ghee,etc.[125] These instances which are selected at random are enough to show the important part which Naṁdāviḷakku or perpetual lamp played in the worship of the temple.

Generally, special servants were appointed in the temples by the donors for the maintenance of lamps. This service was known as Tiruviḷakkukkuḍi.[126] In A.D. 1462 certain residents of Sāttakuḍi Marudūr were deputed by the Kartār or headmen of the village for the seṛvice of lighting lamps in the temple of Veṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala.[127] Perhaps the donors of the gifts felt that the temple staff, because of the innumerable duties connected with the temple, could not properly attend to the lighting of lamps which were generously donated by the devotees. Hence, they sent their representatives with hereditary rights for keeping lamps. Such families who dedicated themselves for lighting lamps were exempted from taxation and public duties. In the reign of Virupaṇṇa

Uḍaiyar four families dedicated themselves for service in the temple of Kacchapēsvara at Tirukkaccūr.[128]

Lamp-stands made of metal were also presented to the temples. The biggest lamp-stand weighing 1399 varāhan was presented to the Śrīraṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam by Cikka Veṅkaṭādrirāya, son of Acyutarāya, in A.D. 1540.[129] The lights that find mention in the records are Tiruviḷakku (evening lights), Naṅdāviḷakku (incessant lights), Kaṭṭi-viḷakku and Akhaṇḍadīpam. Tiruvandikkāpu service or offering of ārati in camphor was conducted in the temple as a part of the daily ritual.[130]

Sandhis or Food offerings:

Naivēdyam or Sandhi was offered to the God during the course of the day and special offerings on festive occasions. The offerings were of different kinds, like cooked, seasoned and sweetened food. These were generally offered between two succeeding functions or before the commencement of an individual rite in the course of the daily worship.[131] Kings, courtiers and lay people provided for offerings in their names. The Bukkarāyan Sandhi, Narsiṁharāya Sandhi, Rāhuttaminḍan Sandhi, Periyanāṭṭan Sandhi, Dēvarāyar Sandhi, Rāmarājayyan avasaram, Senbaga Ponṇayāṇ Sandhi find mention in contemporary inscriptions.[132]

Among the foods and drinks that were generally offered to God in the temple mention may be made of the following items:

Tiruppōnakam; Rājana tiruppōnakam; Veḷḷai tiruppōnakam; Ardha nāyaka taḷigai; Nāyaka taḷigai; Dadhyōdanam; Mattirai taḷigai; Tirup-pāvāḍai; Tiruvōlakkam; Kaḍugu ōgarai; Uḷundu ōgarai; Akkāḷi maṇḍai; Appa paḍi; Atirasa paḍi; Vaḍaipaḍi; Gōdhipaḍi; Sukhiyampaḍi; Iḍḍali paḍi; Poriviḷāṅgāi paḍi; Tirukkaṇāmaḍai; Tiruppaṇyāram; Poripaḍi; Aval paḍi; Ambili; Rasāyanam; Tilānam; Tēṅkuḷal; Pañcahavis; Amṛitapaḍi; Tiraṭṭipāl; Pānakam; Pāyasa harivaṇam; Śṛiṅgārataḷiga .[133]

The naivēdyam offered to God was distributed to many people connected with the temple like the donor, the preceptor of the donor, the Maṭham, the followers of the creed to which the donor belonged, pilgrims, devotees visiting the temple, Sthānattar, cultivators of the flower gardens, etc.[134] This was known as Prasāda. "In the context of temple ritual, it means that all those objects mentioned are offered to the arca, and when purified by the physical contact with Viṣṇu and thus endowed with their own purifying power, are received back as prasādam." The distribution of the naivēdyam was effected according to the arrangement desired by the donor. In A.D. 1546 Vangāpuram Timmana Uḍaiyar arranged for the delivery of a quarter share of his naivēdyam to Vangāpuram Nārayāṇa Seṭṭi for the purpose of maintaining the watershed es-

tablished by Timmana Uḍaiyar at the foot of Tirumalai hills.[135] A certain devotee desired that the donor's share of the naivēdya should be delivered to the Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas or Dāsanambis at Tirumala during the reign of Sadāsivarāya.[136] Vaiyappa Kṛṣṇappa Koṇḍama Nāyaka ordered that the thirty rice offerings provided by him to God Cidambarēsvara should be distributed among the Saiva mendicants.[137]

After the Naivēdya, Bali was offered in the temple.[138] This was followed by the propitiation of Agni or Fire God.[139] After this rite, Śrī Bali was conducted to the accompaniment of instrumental music on which occasion Indra and other presiding deities of the quarters were also propitiated.[140] Śrī Bali service was conducted in the temple of Durgā Paramēsvarī at Uppunda. In A.D. 1483, Parasu Heggade, the nephew of Aṇṇa Sāmanta, made a gift of land for the maintenance of the piper employed during Śrī Bali service.[141] Similarly Dēvaṇṇa Seṭṭi provided for playing Pañcavādya during the Śrī Bali service.[142]

Music:

Offering vocal and instrumental music formed a regular part of the temple ritual. The God in the temple needs recreation and so sessions of music and dance were provided for Him. In A.D. 1404 King Bukka provided for the service of a drummer avañjikkaran in the temple of Madhyasthanātha at Tiruppālappandal.[143] Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Gōparāju, son of Tammayadēvacōḍa Mahārāju, made a gift of land to the Nāgasarāḷa or the piper Canōja for service in the temple of Cennakēsava of Niṭṭūru.[144] Komaragiri Nāyani Raṅgappa Nāyudu of Pāṇḍiḷapalli made a grant of land to pipers connected with the temple of Kēsavarāya.[145] In A.D. 1552, Rāmappa Nāyaka, son of Timmappa Nāyaka of Velur, made a gift of the village Pannula Nūṇkanahaḷḷi to Musiya Rāvuta for playing on two Nāgasvaras and two drums in the temple of Vasanta Mallikārjuna at Dēvalāpura.[146] Kūnapuli Immaḍi Basivi Nāyini gāru gave a gift of land to the barber Cinnōju[147] playing on drum and nāgasvara in the temple of Cennarāya at Veludoruta. In A.D. 1553, Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Anantarāju Kōnamarājayyadēva Mahārāja and the Sthānikas of the temple of Śrī Cennarāya of Mirutūru gave a gift of land as hereditary Kāṇāci to the musicians in the temple of Cennarāya.[148] Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Timmarājayyadēva Mahārāja granted some land to Maṅgaḷa Aṅkōju for performing the pipe and drum service in the Tiruveṅgaḷanāthadēva temple at Gumudūru.[149]

Festivals:

The numerous festivals conducted in the temples attracted pilgrims in large numbers from all over the country. These festivals may be divided

into six categories: nityōtsava (daily), vārōtsava (weekly), pakṣōtsava (fortnightly), māsōtsava (monthly), samvatsarōtsava (annual). While some festivals were celebrated in both Vaiṣṇava and Saiva shrines, there were others which were celebrated exclusively in Vaiṣṇava or Saiva temples. Every temple festival commenced with aṅkurārpaṇam or sprouting of the seeds. The holy earth and sand were mixed and kept in pots in the Yāgasāla with cereals sown in them. This is known as kaiyyār Sakkaram. Then the dhvaja or the flag with the appropriate ensign was taken out in a ceremonious procession and alighted on the flag post, after pūja and naivēdyam were offered to the processional idol of the God.[150]

Kalyāṇōtsavam:

Gods, like human beings, got their marriages performed but, unlike the mortals, solemnised their weddings every year. The maṇṭapam where the marriage of the God was performed was known as Kalyāṇa maṇṭapam.[151]

Pāḍiyavēṭṭai:

This was the hunting festival during which the God was taken out for a ceremonious hunting of wild life, probably signifying the protection of mankind from harmful forces. This was a common festival to Saiva and Vaiṣṇava shrines.[152]

Rathōtsava:

This was the car festival celebrated with great enthusiasm and pomp. When the God was taken out in a ratha or car, it was followed by a huge concourse of people. It was the time when the devotees fulfilled their vows to God by different methods expressive of their devotion.[153] The endowment made for the celebration of this festival was known as tērumānyamu.[154]

Teppa Tirunāl:

During the festival, the God was taken to the Kōnēri or Svāmi Puṣkariṇi in a boat or teppa beautifully decorated. Special offerings were made to Him on the bank of the Puṣkariṇi. This formed part of the tirunāl also.[155]

Vasantōtsavam:

Two kinds of Vasantōtsavam festival were performed, as an auxiliary festival of Brahmōtsavam, and as an independent[156] festival. It was celebrated on the 6th day of Brahmōtsavam. On that day in the evening the God was taken out in procession through the streets and candanam or sandal paste was distributed, probably to signify the exhilarating spirit

of the festival. With the increase in the number of Brahmōtsavams performed, there was a simultaneous rise in the number of Vasantōtsavams.[157]

Besides this auxiliary Vasantōtsavam, as an independent festival it was celebrated for three to five days in the month of Cittirai starting on the day of the star Citta conjoining the full moon day.[158] The God and the goddess were seated on the Uñjal in the Vasanta maṇṭapam, specially constructed, and saffron water mixed with sandal was sprinkled on the white garments of the images, clothed appropriately for the occasion.[159] This was also known as Punnāga Kulyōtsavam.[160]

The Ustava mūrti or processional image was taken out on the following vāhanams during the five days of the Vasantōtsavam festival:

1st day	Śēṣa Vāhanam.
2nd day	Haṁsa vāhanam.
3rd day	Garuḍa vāhanam.
4th day	Vaikuṇṭha vimānam.
5th day	Yānai Naṁbirān(Elephant vehicle)[161]

Pavitrōtsavam or Tiruppavitra Tirunal:

Essentially a purificatory ceremony conducted, in both the Vaiṣṇava and Saiva shrines, for the expiation of the sins of omission and commission occuring in the daily worship and other religious services performed in the temple and pollution caused by death in the temple, was the Pavitrōtsava or Tiruppavitra Tirunal.[162] For example, in A.D. 1551, a religious feud took place between the Brahmans and Sudras on the occasion of Tudiyahabba festival which resulted in deaths on both sides including their cows in the Kōṭēsvara temple at Kōṭēsvar. On account of this pollution caused by the death of men in the temple, the temple was closed for some time and worship was revived only after the purification or Pavitrōtsavam was performed.[163] This festival was celebrated for five days.

Kārtthika:

This was celebrated on the 15th day of the bright half of Kārtthika. During the festival innumerable lamps were lit in the temples and the God was taken round in procession in a palanquin.[164]

Māsimakha:

This was performed in the Kālahastīsvara temple at Kāḷahasti and Veṅkaṭēsvara temple at Tirumala.[165]

The most important of the festivals celebrated in the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva temples may be described as follows:

JYEṢṬĀBHIṢEKAM OR SAHSRAKALASĀBHIṢEKAM:

This festival was performed in the month of Āni on the Jyēṣṭānakṣtra. In the morning on the day of the festival, water was brought from the river in a gold pot on the back of an elephant, accompanied by music. The processional images of the God and the Goddesses, and the Yagnamūrti were seated on different pedestals in the Tiruvannāḷi and abhiṣēkam was performed with water, milk, curd, honey and juices of sugarcane, lime, mango and other fruits kept in 1000 small cups arranged in the four corners of a square, 250 for each corner. Since thousand vessels were used for the abhiṣēkam, it was known as Sahasrakalasābhiṣēkam. After the abhiṣēkam, the processional images were not clothed and decorated, as usual, till the fall of night. In the evening after food offerings were made to these images, they were restored to their original places in the sanctum and then clothed and decorated. On the following day, after afternoon worship, a large quantity of cooked rice was offered to God, and later distributed among the priests and the devotes.[166]

Kōḍai Tirunāḷ or flower festival:

This was a summer festival as Vasantōtsavam was the spring festival. It was celebrated for twenty days. Every day the Lord was decorated exuberantly with flowers and seated in a maṇṭapam and food, sandal paste, areca nuts and betel leaves were offered to Him. The festival was conducted in two stages; the first ten days constituted the earlier half and the following ten days constituted the later half. The festival falls in the month of Cittirai.[167]

Āḻvār's Birth Star Celebrations:

The birth asterisms of the Āḻvārs were celebrated in all the Vaiṣṇava temples. Special offerings were made to them in their shrines and the Nālāyira Prabandham was read on the occasion of the monthly and annual birth stars. The names of the Āḻvārs, their annual birth stars, Prabandhams that were recited on the occasion were as follows:

Aḷvār	Annual birth star	Month	Prabandham
Nammāḷvār	Vaiśākha	Vaikāsi	Tiruvāyamoḷi
Periyāḷvār	Svāti	Āni	Tiruppalāṇḍu and Tirumoḷi
Śūḍikudutta	Pūrva Phalguna	Āḍi	Tiruppāvaī
Nāciyār			Nāciyār Tirumoḷi
Poygaiyāḷvār	Śravaṇam	Aṛpaśi	Tiruvantādi Vaiyantakaḷi
Pūdattāḷvār	Aviṭṭam	Aviṭṭam	Tiruvantadi Anpētakaḷi
Pēyāḷvār	Śatayam	Śatayam	Tiruvantādi Tirukkaṇḍēn
Tirumaṅg aiyāḷvār	Kārtikai	Kārtikai	Periya Tirumoḷi
Tiruppāṇāḷvār	Rōhiṇi	Rōhiṇi	Amalanādarpirān Tiruvāyamoḷi
Toṇḍaradip poḍiyāḷvār	Jyēṣṭa	Mārgaḷi	Tirumālai Tiruppaḷi Eḷucchi
Tirumaliśey ppiranāḷvār	Makha	Tai	Nānmukan Tiruvantādi
Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ	Punarvasu	Māsi	Perumāḷ Tirumoḷi
Madhurakavi	Cittirai	Citra	Kaṇṇinuṇ Śṛuttāmbu.[168]

The annual birth star of Rāmānuja being Ārdrā in the month of Cittirai and the birth star of Periya Aḷagiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar being the star Mūlam in the month of Aṛpasi were also celebrated.[169]

Dhanurmāsa or Tiruppaḷieḷucchi :

This was celebrated for thirty days in the month of Mārgali. Special offerings were made to God on all the thirty days.[170] The Āḷvārs were propitiated during the Dhanurmāsa.[171] Mukkōṭi dvādasi or Tirudvādāsi formed part of the Dhanurmāsa. Special tirumañjanam or bath was given to the God with musk, sandal and gingelly oil. Special offerings

were made to the God while he was seated in a maṇṭapam after finishing his processional rounds with his consorts followed by his general Viṣvaksēna. Hanumān, the devotee of Lord Viṣṇu, was also propitiated on the festive occasion of Mukkōṭi dvādasi.[172]

Adhyayanōtsavam:

By far the most important of the Vaiṣṇava festivals was the Adhyayanōtsavam or the recitation of the Prabandhas of the Āḷvārs. The duration of the festival was twenty days; the first ten days preceding Vaikuṇṭha Ekādasi were known as Pagalpattu and the second period of ten days was known as Rapattu. On the day before the commencement of the festival the Tiruneḍundāṇḍagam of Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār was recited and on the first day of the festival, after the routine early morning service, the images of the Āḷvārs and the Ācāryas were brought from their respective shrines to a Durbar specially arranged for the occasion, where the Arayars started the recitation of the Prabandhams. The highlight of the third day's celebrations was the recitation of the Periyāḷvār's Tirumoḷi and offering Satakōpam to the Ācāryas, the Arāyars, and the assembled devotees. On the fourth day Kaṁsavadha or the killing of Kaṁsa by Lord Kṛṣṇa used to be enacted. The drama of Vāmanāvatāra was enacted on the seventh day. On the ninth day Muttukkuṛi, portraying the Nāyaka-Nāyaki bhāva or the bridal mysticism between the Āḷvār and Lord Viṣṇu was enacted. On the tenth day, the last day of the first half of the festival period, Rāvaṇavadha and the Mōhinī incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu were enacted. The image of Lord Viṣṇu was dressed up as that of a goddess on this occasion. This interesting part of the festival was known as Nāciyārtirukkōlam or Mōhinī-alaṁkāram.

On the Vaikuṇṭha Ekādasi day, the image of the deity was taken out of the sanctum in a procession through the Paramapadavāsal situated in the northern gateway of the second prakara. This particular gateway was kept closed throughout the year except on this day. It was believed that passing through this gateway conferred on all those who did so the boon of entering Vaikuṇṭha. The highlights of the celebrations at this place consisted of installing the image of the Lord in a specially erected pandal and honouring in His presence the Āḷvārs and the Ācāryas and reciting the first centum of the Tiruvaymoḷi consisting of 1100 verses. On each of the succeeding days the image of the deity was similarly taken out in procession and a centum of the Tiruvāmoḷi recited. As the recitations commenced in the early part of the night this half of the festival was called Rapattu. On the eighth day of this half, Vēdupari or the story of the conversion of Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār from a robber to a true devotee was enacted. The tenth day was devoted to the celebration of Nammāḷvār's

Mōkṣam.

The Adhyanōtsavam ended with the recitation of Rāmānuja Nūṛandādi by a descendent of Rāmānuja. This closing function was known as Sāttumuṛai.[173]

Mārgaḷi Nīrāṭṭam festival:

This festival solemnized the memory of Sūḍikuḍutta Nāciyār, the beloved of Lord Śrīraṅganātha. There were separate shrines dedicated to Sūḍikuḍutta Nāciyār in most of the Vaiṣṇava temples of the period. The Nāciyār shrine at Śrīvilliputtūr enjoyed the patronage of the Vijayanagara rulers and their subjects. During the Vijayanagara period a festival was instituted in her honour in the month of Mārgaḷi, known as Mārgaḷi Nīrāṭṭam, to be celebrated for seven days, i.e., from the 24th day to the 30th, upto Kanuvin-nāḷ preceding the Makara Saṅkrānti. The festival started on the 23rd day of Mārgaḷi with aṅkurārpaṇam followed by adhivāsa tirumañjanam and the Pañcāmṛita tirumañjanam were given. After this, food was offered to the Goddess. On the seven days following the aṅkurārpaṇam, the Goddess was taken in procession every morning to a maṇṭapam on the bank of the Puṣkariṇi and was brought back to the temple in the evening. On the Kanuva day she was given a bath in the Puṣkariṇi and was then worshipped. On her way back to the temple in the evening, turmeric, sandal paste, betel nuts and leaves were distributed to the Sumaṅgaḷis or married women. In the course of the procession Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa coming out of his temple greeted her on the way.[174] A record dated Saka 1375 relates the mythical connection of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Sūḍikuḍutta Nāciyār of Śrīvilliputtūr. Probably the belief of the people in the association of Nāciyār and Śrī Kṛṣṇa inspired them to arrange for their meeting during the processions.[175]

There was another festival conducted for her in the month of Āḍi at Śrīvilliputtūr.[176]

Lakṣmīdēvī Mahōtsavam:

This festival was instituted by King Acyutarāya in A.D. 1535. It was celebrated for five days. During the festival, Śrīsūkutam, Vēda, Kalpa Maṅtram and Lakṣmī-gāyatri, Lakṣmī-Sahasranāma were recited invoking the Goddess Lakṣmī.[177] Sumaṅgaḷis or married women were honoured on the occasion.

Vēdapārayaṇam tirunāḷ:

This was performed in the month of Dhanus in the Śrīraṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. The performance of the festival proves that recitation of Vēdas received special attention in all the temples and festivals

were conducted in its commemoration.[178] It is, however, not definitely known whether this festival was celebrated in the Śaiva temples. Similarly,regarding Dasami Mahōtsava also it is difficult to ascertain whether it was conducted in the Saiva temples. The available evidence, however, points to its celebration in the Vaiṣṇava temples.[179]

Brahmōtsavam:

This was the biggest festival conducted in the Vaiṣṇava temples. It attracted a large number of people from different parts of the empire. According to Veṅkaṭācala Māhatmyam, Brahmōtsavam was originally instituted by Brahma, the creator. According to epigraphical evidence it was first instituted by the Pallava queen, Sāmavai alias Kāḍavan Perundēvi, wife of Satti Viṭaṅkan alias Śrīkāḍuveṭṭigal,in the 14th year of the reign of Koppātra Mahēndra Panmar.[180] A record dated A.D. 1551 states that Kāḍavan Perundēvi, queen of Sundara Pāṅḍya, instituted Puraṭṭāsi Brahmōtsavam in the name of Ādi Brahma.[181] This shows that the tradition of association of Brahma with the festival was prevalent in the sixteenth century. About ten Brahmōtsavams were celebrated in the months of Puraṭṭāsi, Mārgali, Paṅguni, Ādi, Āni, Kārtikai, Māsi, Arpasi, Tai, Cittirai and Vaikāsi.[182] The duration of the festival varied from seven to thirteen days.[183]

Brahmōtsavam was a comprehensive festival which comprised several auxiliary celebrations like Viḍāyārri, Rathōtsava, Dōlōtsava, Puṣpayāgam, Vasantōtsava,etc. It started with Kaiyyār Sakkaram or Aṅkurārpaṇam and ended with Viḍāyārri. During Brahmōtsavam, Brahma was also taken out in procession along with Visvaksēna signifying the role of Brahma as the founder of the festival.[184]

Brahmōtsavam started with the Kaiyyār Sakkaram or aṅkurārpaṇam or sprouting of the seeds. The images of Viṣvaksēna and Āñjanēya were taken out in procession to the Nāciyār shrine to bring holy earth from beneath the bilva tree while the priest, chanting Bhūsūkta,brought sand from the river bank. The mud and sand were mixed and kept in pots in the Yāgasāla with cereals sown in them. On the second day, Visvaksēna, the Commander-in-Chief of Viṣṇu, inspected the town and this ceremony was known as Nagarsōdanai. On the same day Garuḍadhvaja was kept ready to be hoisted the next day, on the Dhvajasthambha. This ceremony was called Dhvajārōhaṇam. Next morning the Dhvaja was taken out in a ceremonial procession, and installed on the Dhwajasthambha, after Pūjā and Naivēdyam were offered to the processional image of the God. The same evening the Utsava Mūrtis, the God and the Goddesses, were decorated and seated in the Aḷagiyamanavāḷan Tirumaṇṭapa and the ceremony of Bhērithāṭanam or beating the drum was conducted. The

Bhēri was worshipped and struck to the accompaniment of the Bhērithāṭanam slōkas inviting the Gods, Dikpālas and devotees to the festival. The God and the Goddess were then taken in procession round the Citra streets. Then they were brought back to the temple and the God, leaving the Goddess in the sanctum, proceeded to the Yāgasāla where abhiṣēkam was performed to him followed by Pūjā and Naivēdya. Pañcakuṇḍa hōmam or offering of ghee in five sacrificial fire pits was conducted. Then the God returned to th Mahāmaṇṭapa and performed Yātradānam as he was supposed to have started on a Yātra or journey. From th second day the God was taken out every morning round the Citra streets and installed in the mahāmaṇṭapa. On the fourth day he went out on Garuḍa vāhana. On the 8th day he was taken out on Hayavāhana and on the 9th day in a chariot. On the 10th day he was given a Tirumañjanam in the mahāmaṇṭapa. Again in the evening he was taken out in procession and brought back to the temple for receiving the honours and offerings made by the devotees. On this occasion the Rāmānuja- nūṟṟandādi was recited. The God was offered coconut water on behalf of Rāmānuja who was brought out to meet Him. Then the God was taken near the Dvajastaṁbha where the Paḍippu or tiruppaṇi-mālai was recited. These verses describe the various festivals conducted in the temple and the services rendered by the Teṅkalai Śrī Vaiṣṇavas during those festivals. Afterwards the image was taken into the sanctum and restored to its original place on the Bhūpālarāyan, the gold plated pedestal. The flag or dhvaja was unmounted in the night, signifying the completion of the festival. But the festival was virtually closed on the 11th day on which day the God was taken in procession in Pūla Pallaki or specially decorated flower palanquin.[185]

Tiruttūdu Viṇṇappam Seydal:

This was performed in the temple of Tiruttāntōṇṇi Aḷudaiyār at Sambai. In A.D. 1387 the temple authorities made a gift of land to Sūryadēva for the celebration of the festival in the temple. This function was part of a festival in which one of the Nāyanārs acting as a tudu or dūta (a love messenger) pacified the God and the Goddess after a supposed amorous quarrel or praṇaya kalaha between the Lord and His spouse. A member of the Ōduvār class, belonging to the temple, play the role of Nāyanār by singing appropriate songs suitable to the occasion.[186]

Tiruvāḍirai:

This was celebrated in honour of Pārvatī in the month of Mārgaḷi, in the wake of the Ārudra star. This appears to be an important festival for the Śaivaites particularly. On this occasion a dish made of rice and jaggery was offered to Pārvatī.[187]

Tiruppūram:

This was celebrated in Aṛpaśi on the 11th nakṣatra, Svāti Pūrvaphalguṇi. A record dated A.D. 1435 registers a grant to the Kāmākṣiamman temple at Kañci towards the celebration of the festival.[188]

Vaigāśi:

Contemporary records refer to the celebration of this festival in the Arunajaṭēśvara temple at Tiruppanandāḷ and Śrīraṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam.[189]

Śivarātri:

This was an important temple festival for the Śaivaites. It was customary for the people to visit the sacred shrines of Śiva at the different tīrthas and participate in the celebrations conducted in the temple. So much importance and sanctity was attached to this festival that devotees gifted copper images of Śiva and Pārvatī to the Śiva temple.[190] The festival attracted so many pilgrims that feeding- houses were specially organised for them. For example, a record dated A.D. 1561 registers a grant of land to Mallikārjuna of Śrīgiri for the maintenance of a feeding house for pilgrims during Śivarātri[190A]

But some of the festivals celebrated in the temples varied according to the locality. For example, Giripradakṣina is a festival celebrated only in the temple of Śrī Kāḷahastīśvara at Kāḷahasti.[191] Gajēndramōkṣam festival was instituted by Tiruvanantāḷvār Kuppayan alias Siṭṭayan in A.D. 1539 in the Gōviṅdarāja temple at Tirupati. This was celebrated in honour of Gajēndra, the elephant devotee of Lord Viṣṇu whom the Lord saved from the jaws of the crocodile.[192]

Temple building:

'Many new temples were constructed and structural additions were made to the already existing ones. The hectic temple-building activity may be attributed to the following reasons. The rulers of Vijayanagara were dedicated to the promotion of Hindu religion and religious institutions like the temple and the Maṭha. The Vijayanagara empire was established with the sole aim of preserving Hindu traditions and Dharma. So the rulers naturally encouraged the construction of several temples dedicated to various cult Gods and Goddesses. As stone construction involved much labour, time and organisation, all of which were extremely expensive, the building of temples was mainly undertaken by Kings, feudatories, feudal lords, rich merchants, etc. Particularly, rulers who had at their disposal the concentrated economic wealth of the country could afford such building activity. Temple building implied the power

and the glory of the ruler as it was an expression of his immense wealth. According to Dēvangana Desai,"feudal aristocratic patronage of the arts encouraged ostentation and display which resulted in architectural magnificence and sculptural profusion." [193] Feudal patronage of temples also encouraged paternalistic traditionalism "and conventionalism" resulting in the preservation of old social and religious values. Keeping in tune with these traditions, multitudinous forms of sculptures representing the rich heritage of iconography and mythology, copious illustrations from the epics,the Rāmayana and the Mahābharata,found place on the temple walls in exquisite sculptural forms. For example, starting with the nine planets, all the forms of life,human, animal and vegetal, divine personages, celestial singers, different forms of Siva, incarnations of Vishnu, copious illustrations from the epics, Rāmayana, Mahābharata, and Bhāgavat Purāṇa, dance sculptures illustrating the poses described in Bharata's Nātyasāstra, the "Hindu temple is a miniature universe, the macrocosm".[194]

In the fashioning of these sculptures,whether in stone, metal or wood, the priests laid down certain inviolable prescriptions which the sculptor had to follow without any scope for self- expression and artistic skill. This implied the domination of the Brahmans as the texts on image-making reflected the ambition of the theologians to codify all aspects of the production of sacred images in stone, metal or wood, and even painted images, and there is substantial evidence of the success of their efforts. Iconography and Iconometry reflected the influence of Brahman theologians.[195] During the Vijayanagara period huge temple complexes with many smaller shrines in addition to the principalshrinesrequired the production of more images. This resulted in the domination of the priestly classes who set out prescriptions based on Epics and Purāṇas, Sāstras and Āgamās. It is unfortunate that the creators of such valuable sculptures remained anonymous as the temple records generally do not throw any light on the silpis. The identity of the sculptor was not revealed probably because it was believed that the work was not so much the product of the ingenuity of the sculptor as that of the theologian.[196] But that the sthapatis or sculptors of the period did not lack either creative thinking or the required knowledge of sciences and fine arts is known from the Vastuvidya which states as follows: "The sthapati must be able to design. He must be proficient in all sciences . . . He must be happy in mind and free from greed. He must be proficient in music and painting. He should have a good knowledge of geography. He must be free from the seven vices, must be truthful and possess self-control. He must be deep in the ocean of the science of architecture . . .".[197] From this description it is clear that the sthapatis must possess noble traits of

character, proficient in not only Vastuvidya but allied arts and must be free from vices. The temples exploited the talents of such master craftsmen of good character who were dedicated to art and architecture. Even the names of the stone masons who were associated in creating architectural treasures were not disclosed.

As active land-owning institutions with large monetary endowments and resources at their disposal, the temples were citadels of immense economic power though they were, in the main, religious edifices patronised by royal and merchant classes and, to a lesser degree, by the common people. As land-owning and land-managing institutions, they were feudal in character and functioning. Owing to continuous internecine warfare in medieval India during which period Hindu states were not only at war with one another but were also involved in incessant conflicts with the neighbouring Muslim states, the Hindu rulers felt that liberal grants of land to temples was the best means of safeguarding property. Income from land ensured consistency and as temple lands were leased out to tenants, irrigation became a local responsibility. Land grants to temples were exempted from fiscal dues and were free from interference from royal troops if not officials. Naturally, temples emerged as semi-independent or autonomous bodies and became powerful. The management of such multi-dimensional institutions, with a host of employees engaged in temple services, was not smooth-sailing. It required a system of checks and balances with greedy temple employees on one side and opportunist royal agents on the other. Innumerable temples dedicated to cult Gods and Goddesses were constructed in the macro-region. The extensive temple-building activity may be attributed to the feudal socio-economic structure which gave rise to proliferation of feudal chiefs, military officers and royal dignitaries, all of whom possessed large landed estates and wealth to enable them to build huge temple complexes, which, by patronising education and fine arts, played a purposeful role as socio-economic institutions.

A more vital role of the temples as centres of religious and cultural integration could be seen in the manner they attracted a massive inflow of pilgrims and devotees from all over the country thereby promoting inter- and intra-regional mobility, closer contacts and mutual understanding among divergent regional subcultures. Their glorious architectural and sculptural excellence attracted visitors from far and near. The temples were, therefore, multifaceted, multi-dimensional, institutions which fostered that element of unity in diversity which has always been a significant feature of India's social, religious and cultural evolution.

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46. Being a dancing girl she accepted her Varṇāśramadharma and made money with her art and talents. While returning from the Court of the Cōḷa King of Nicalāpuri, she happened to halt at the āśrama of Vipranārāyaṇa, a young, handsome and an ardent devotee of Lord Hari. Dēvadēvī who was confident of her charms suffered humiliation when she was disregarded by Vipranārāyaṇa. She took a vow that she would conquer him by her beauty. She won him ultimately and attained mōkṣa with the grace of Lord Śrīraṅganātha. Chs. 93 to 95.

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59. E.C.,Vol.IV, Gu.34.

60. E.C.,Vol.IV, Gu.32.

61. E.C. Vol.XII, Gb.29.

62. S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt. 11, No.702.

63. Kōil Oḷugu, pp.88-89. Ekaki literally means un married or single.

64. Kōil Oḷugu, p.89.

65. Kōil Oḷugu, pp.89-90.

66. Kōil Oḷugu, p.97; T.T.D.I., Vol.II, Nos. 135, 140; Ibid., Vol.V, No.10; Ibid., Vol.IV, Nos.19,39.

67. Kōil Oḷugu, p.98.

68. Kōil Oḷugu, p.99.

69. MER, 1910, No.242; T.T.D.I., Vol.II, No.135.

70. T.T.D.I., Vol.11, No.135.

Ibid., Vol.V, No.88.

71. S.I.I., Vol.XVI, Nos.246, 307: South Indian Temples, Edited by Burton Stein, p.133.

72. MER, 1938-39, No.37; S.I.I., Vol.XVI, Nos. 275, 273; Ibid., Vol.IV, No.702. Aḷiya - Rāmappaya granted a village to the Cennakēsava temple for feeding itinerant Bahmanas and Sudras who travelled on the military road.

73. Golden Jubilee Souvenir, Tirumala Tirupati Dēvasthānams, April 1984, p.27.

74. C.L. I.P.S., No.683.

75. MER, 1927-28, No.405.

76. MER, 1937-38, No.490.

77. MER, 1945-46, Nos.74; T.T.D.I., Vol.II, No.18; Vol.IV. Nos. 54, 95, 129.

78. MER, 1919, No.374; T.T.D.I., Vol.IV, No.144; Vol.V. Nos. 53, 10.

79. MER, 1945-46, No.74.

80. T.D E., Report, pp.13-16. Inscriptions refer to the provision being made for the recitation of the Vēdas in the Veṅkaṭēsvara temple during the subsequent years. T.T.D.I., Vol.11, No.18; Vol.V, Nos.25,51,125; Vol.IV,

Nos.54, 95, 129. The endowment made for the recitation of the Vēda was known as Vēda Vṛitti. S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.130.

81. MER, 1924, No.207.

82. MER, 1900, No.47.

83. EC, X, Ml.17.

84. Ibid., Ml.19.

85. MER, 1938-39, No.35.

86. MER, 1950-51, No.324.

87. T.T.D.I.,Vol.II, 68, 122; Vol.IV, Nos.96, 6, 31, 46, 59, 52, 69, 73, 109, 51, 129, 144; Ibid., Vol.V., No.83; S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.130.

88. MER, 1919, No.374.

89. MER, 1950-51, No.295; S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.98.

90. MER, 1910, No.240.

91. MER, 1950-51, No.308.

92. T.T.D.I.,Vol.II, No.95.

93. T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, 144; Vol.V. Nos.53, 100.

94. MER, 1929-30, No.117.

95. MER, 1913, Para 54; MER, 1914, Para 27.

96. MER, 1913, No.449.

97. Mysore Gazetteer, Vol.II, Pt. III, p.1903; Sources, p.155.

98. T.T.D.I.,Vol. III, No.158.

99. MER, 1913, No.413; Ibid., 1914, Para.26.

100. South Indian Temples, Edited by Burton Stein, p.133.

101. The articles of perfumery required for the bath were preserved in a room known as Tirumañjana Śālai and the servants in charge of it were called Tiumanjana Śālaiyār. T.D.E.Report, p.17.

102. MER, 1953-54, No.55.

103. MER, 1937-38. No.81.

104. Ibid., 1953-54, No.37.

105. Ibid., 1913, No.334.

106. Ibid., 1914, No.147.

107. Ibid., 1950-51, No.313.

108. T.T.D.I.,Vol.V.No.71.

109. Ibid., 1956-57, No.27; E.C. IV, Gu.33.

110. T.T.D.I, Vol.V, Nos.83; EC,V. B1.3; MER, 1921, No.272.

111. T.T.D. I, Vol. III, No.60; Vol.IV, No.16.

112. MER, 1940-41, Nos. 49, 57; 1913, No.344; 1928-29, No.86.

113. MER, 1919, Nos. 504, 526, 530.

114. In the Vaiṣṇava temples the Śāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas cultivated the flower gardens and supplied flowers to the temples.

115. MER, 1919, Nos. 520.

116. MER, 1919, No. 526.

117. MER, 1913, No.530; 1926, No.409.

118. T.D.E. Report, pp.31-32;

119. S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, Nos. 102, 34, 240, 263, 295.

The inscriptions refer to the light as Tiruviḷakku.

120. MER, 1913-No.388.

121. MER, 1952-53, No.341.

122. MER, 1951-52, No.197.

123. MER, 1924, No.135.

124. T.D.E. Report, pp.8-9.

125. Ibid., p.9.

126. MER, 1930-34, Nos.202, 203; T.T.D.I.,Vol.11, No.12.

127. T.T.D.I.,Vol.11, No.12.

128. MER, 1950-51, No.326.

129. T.T.D.I., Vol.II, 88; Vol.IV, Nos.202, 115; S.S.I., Vol.IX, Pt.11, No.487.

130. MER, 1926, No.585; T.T.D.I.,Vl.V., No.89; T.T.D.I.,Vol.II, P.23.

131. EC. X, Bn.8; MER, 1937-38, No.406; T.T.D.I.,Vol.II, No.17.

132. T.D.E.,Report, p.12-13; MER, 1916, Nos.252; Ibid., 1928-29, Nos.215, 250; MER, 1929-30, No.236.

133. T.T.D.I.,Vol.V, Nos. 2, 7, 51, 92, 22, 26, 75, 93, 67, 1, 19, 79, 8, 18, 99, 71, 78, 167, 9, 11, 25-66; Ibid., Vol.II, Nos.18, 31, 50, 64, 96, 101, 105, 126, 133, 140; Ibid. Vol. IV, Nos. 100, 98, E.C. Vl. Kp. 30, 57; Ec.X, Kl.80; S.I.I.,Vol.IX, Pt.11, No.405; MER, 1915, No.81.

134. South Indian Temples, Edited by Burton Stein, p.134.

135. T.T.D.I.,Vol.V., No.81.

136. T.T.D.I.,Vol.V., No.4.

137. MER, 1913, No.339.

138. T.T.D.I.,Vol.V, Nos.92, 173; Vol.IV, No.129.

139. Ibid., Vol.11, No.50; Vol.IV, No.54; Vol.V, No.25.

140. S.I.I.,Vol.IX, Pt. 11, No.461.

141. MER, 1929-30, No.552.

142. Ibid., No.553.

143. MER, 1937-38, No.417.

144. MER, 1947-48, No.17.

145. MER, 1937-38, No.256.

146. S.I.I.,Vol.IX, Pt.11, No.647.

147. MER, 1937-38, No.294.

148. MER, 1926, No.410.

149. MER, 1943-44, No.40.

150. Ibid., No.60, 19; S.I.I.,Vol.IX, Pt.11, No.466; MER, 1922, No.188.

151. T.T.D.I.,Vol.V. No.71, 153, 99, 159; S.I.I.,Vol.IV, No.702.

152. MER, 1919, Nos.482, 530; T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV.Nos.83, 84, 86, 81, 28, 6, 12, 45; S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, Nos.129, 173, 224, 237, 260.

153. S.I.I.,Vol.IX, Pt.11, Nos.463, 278, 272, 273; MER, 1919, No.641.

154. S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.257.

155. MER, 1919, No.641; S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.224.

156. T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, Nos.82, 127, 110.

157. T.T.D.I.,Vol. 11, No.83.

158. T.D.E. Report, p.27; MER, 1929-30, No.190; T.T.D.I.,Vol.11, No.127, MER, 1939-40; No.380.

159. T.T.D.I.,Vol. IV, Nos.127; E.C. Vol. III, SR.7; Ibid., Vol IV, Nos.110, 81, 6; MER, 1912, No.375; Ibid., 1915, No.63.

160. T.T.D.I.,Vol.III, No.21.

161. T.T.D.I.,Vol.V, No.168.

162. T.D.E. Report p.24; T.T.D.I.,Vol.II, Nos.134, 138, 18.

163. S.I.I.,Vol.IX, Pt.11, No.621; T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, Nos.82, 83.

164. MER, 1915, No.58; Ibid., 1912, No.361; Ibid, 1927, No.373; T.T.D.I.,Vol.V, No.127; Ibid. Vol.IV, No.6.

This was celebrated in Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva temples. S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.206.

165. MER, 1924, Nos.176, 180; T.T.D.I.,Vol. V, Nos. 31, 159; Ibid. Vol.IV, No.5.

166. T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, Nos.81, 82, 88, 110.

V.N. Hari Rao, The Śrīrāṅgam Temple,Art and Architecture, p.137.

167. T.T.D.I.,Vol.II, Nos.31, 45, 50, 83, 109, 126, 127; Ibid, Vol.IV, Nos.81, 82, 83, 88.

168.T.T.D.I., Vol.11, No.68; Ibid, Vol.111, No.28; T.D.E. Report, pp.73-80; T.T.D.I.,Vol.V.No.141; Ibid, Vol.IV, No.3; MER, 1919, No.653.

169.T.T.D.1.,Vol.V, No.141.

170.Ibid. Vol.11, Nos. 36, 86, 88, 100, 109; Ibid, Vol.IV, Nos.28,59,33; Ibid, Vol.V, No.8.

171.Ibid.,Vol.IV, No.59.

172.Ibid., Vol. V, Nos. 64, 108, 8, 10; MER, 1919, No.439.

173.T.T.D.I.,Vol.11, Nos.68,83,95,107, 123, 129, 138, 162; Ibid, Vol,IV, Nos.3, 6, 81 to 84, 96, 156, 71; T.D.E. Report,p.23; MER, 1938-39, No.8.

174.T.D.E. Report,p.80;

T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, No.71.

175.MER, 1926, No.577.

176.MER, 1926, No.578.

177.T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, Nos.54, 55, 95, 136, 157.

178.MER, 1938-39, No.36.

179.MER, 1940-41, Nos.346, 352; T.T.D.I.,Vol.V, No.25.

180.T.T.D.I.,Vol, 1, Nos. 8, 9.

181.Ibid., Vol.V, No.129.

182.Ibid., Vol.IV, Nos.3; Ibid, Vol.V, Nos, 51, 47.

183.Ibid., Vol.11, Nos. 1,18,50,51,56,68,69,89,93,95,96; Ibid, Vol.IV, Nos.6, 3, 100, 129, 140, 190, 110, 84.

184.Ibid., Vol, IV, No.129.

185.V.N.Hari Rao, The Śrīraṅgam Temple, Art and Architecture, pp.134-136.

186.MER, 1937-38, No.433.

187.Ibid., 1922, No.70;Ibid, 1924, No.153.

188.Ibid., 1954-55, No.308.

189.Ibid., 1931-32, No.76; Ibid, 1937-38, No.94; T.T.D.I., Vol.II, No.126.

190.MER, 1915, No.40; Ibid, 1924, No.166, 184; MER, 1924, No.175.

190A.S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, Nos. 77, 253.

191.MER, 1924, No.175.

192.T.T.D.I.,Vol.V, No. 135.

193.Devangana Desai, Erotic Sculpture of India: A Socio Cultural Study, p.153.

194.Golden Jubilee Souvenir, pp.22; Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, pp.76,71,127.

195.George Michell,The Hindu Temple, p.55.

196.According to Niharranjan Ray, "a procession of endless monotony of forms,uninformed by any inner experience and without any registration of individual creative genius, meets the eye. It is only in rare instances that images were expressions of the artist's creative genius and attained high artistic standards. But such examples are few and far between, H.C.I.P.,Vol.V, p.643.

197.Golden Jubilee Souvenir, April, 84, p.26.

9

Religious Institutions:

Maṭha

The establishment of monasteries as ancillary religious institutions was a common feature of all religions. They were meant to function not only as centres of learning but also as custodians of religious orthodoxy and doctrinal interpretation. They determined the canons of religious propriety and forms of worship, imparted rigorous training to the priestly class in disciplining the mind and the body, within their secluded precincts. Buddhism and Jainism had even at the outset established their respective monasteries as preparatory institutions for monkhood. It was Saṅkara who established the four great Hindu Maṭhas, one at Badri, high up in the Himālayas in the North, the second one at Pūri in the East, the third at Dwāraka in the West and the fourth at Śṛṅgēri in the South. By the 14th century several maṭhas, or theological seminaries, sprang up propagating their respective religious denominations, viz., Saivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Madhvaism, supplying enrichment to the different schools of religious thought within the Hindu fold and maintaining a generally animated religious atmosphere. They co-existed with the temple on a footing of equality and enjoyed the patronage of the rulers and individual philanthropists and as could be seen from the abundant epigraphical evidence available, there was a profusion of such Maṭhas in the Vijayanagara Empire. It was in consonance with the policy of the Vijayanagara rulers to revitalise Hinduism against the possibility of its getting submerged by Islam. The Maṭha, therefore, was a very important religious institution at that time.

Established by the protagonists of the different schools of religion and generally attached to the temples, the Maṭhas or monasteries afforded shelter to the resident as well as itinerant monks and played a sig-

nificant part in the religious life of the times. The pontiffs of the Maṭhas were highly learned in the Śāstras, Purāṇas and other sacred texts. They gave instruction to students who flocked to the Maṭhas from far and near. To facilitate easy access to the valuable manuscripts and literary works, the Maṭhas maintained regular and full-fledged libraries or pustaka bhāṇḍāgārams. Gifts were made, from time to time, for the maintenance of the libraries and Vidvans were employed in the Maṭhas to give instruction in religion. In A.D.1400, Mādaṇṇa Seṭṭi made a gift of land to Siṅgaṇṇa Ayya, son of Cakravarti Upādhyāya, a Vidvān of the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha.[1] In A.D. 1406 Purāṇika Kavi Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa of Śṛṅgēri received the village Bramhara and income realised from certain other villages for the renovation and maintenance of a Pustakabhāṇḍāra attached to the Śṛṅgēri Maṭha.[2] Kavi Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa's son, Kavi Saṅkara Bhaṭṭa of the Maṭha, received a gift of land in A.D. 1432 from Caṇḍappa, the Governor of Bārakūra tulu-rājya.[3] There was a library attached to the Brahmatantra Svatantra Jīyar's Maṭha at Kañci. In A.D. 1539 the library was granted Upakaraṇas such as racks for theaccommodationof the manuscript bundles, spare sets of cadjan leaves for copying work and stylus and other scribal apparatus.[4] Sessions of Purāṇa readings were held in the Maṭhas to enlighten the people on the importance of the Purāṇas. In A.D. 1434, Surēsvara Śrīpāda and the residents of Bailur provided for the maintenance of Nārayāṇa Bhaṭṭa who recited the Purāṇas on the 30 days of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the Maṭha of the Śrīpāda.[5]

In the Maṭhas images of gods and goddesses were also installed and regular worship was offered to them as a means of popularising their respective cults. Devotees made gifts for the maintenance of worship to the idols in the Maṭhas also. For example, an epigraph dated A.D. 1426 states that the residents of Aṇṇaniḍumbūru gifted land for offering worship to God Gōpināthadēva in the Maṭha at Kaḍēkāru.[6] In A.D. 1437 Mādhava Mantri made provision for conducting worship to God Vēṇugōpāla Kṛṣṇa in the Maṭha of the Bhāgavata Saṁ pradāya at Taḷkād.[7] The great minister, Timmaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, was stated to have entrusted to Rāmānuja Jiyya the responsibility of offering Naivēdya to goddess Lakṣmī in the Rāmānuja Maṭha at Melkōṭe.[8] In A.D. 1543 Saṅkaraliṅga Seṭṭi and Mahāliṅga Seṭṭi granted land to the Maṭha attached to the Gōpināṭha temple at Handadi for the worship of the deity Gōpināṭha in the Maṭha.[9]

ŚAIVA MAṬHAS

The Bhikṣa Maṭhā of the Pāśupata school at Dēvīkāpuram was one of the important Pāsupata Maṭhas of the period. The pontiffs of this Maṭha were intimately associated with the administration of the temples of Tirumala Uḍaiya Nāyanār at Dēvikāpuram. Visvēsvarasivā Cārya acted as one of the trustees of the temple and served the temple in the capacity of Kōyil Kēḷvi. He presided over the Maṭha from A.D. 1507 TO 1515.[10] A certain Isāna Sivācārya presided over the Maṭha from A.D. 1520 to 1522.[11] Again,a Visvēsvara Sivācārya appears in a record dated A.D. 1524 as the temple trustee of the Tirumala Uḍaiya Nāyanār temple.[12] Isāna Sivācārya figures as one of the trustees of the temple from A.D. 1530 to A.D. 1533.[13] "Dēvikāpuram is even at the present day the headquarters of a line of Saiva- Ācāryas whose head is now known as Sāttanātha- Sivācārya. These are the preceptors of certain sects of the Bērichetṭi Saiva merchants. They appear to be connected with the Jñānasivācāryas of Mullaṇḍram (North Arcot district) who are the religious preceptors of the Tamil speaking Vaṇiya (oil monger) caste."[14] In addition to the Bhikṣā Maṭha, the Gōḷagi Maṭha, and the Kallār Maḍam or Kallu Maṭha were some of the important Pāsupata institutions.[15]

Inscriptional evidence establishes the affinity with one another of the Bhikṣā Maṭha, Gōḷagi Maṭha and the Kallār Maṭha. The associates of these Maṭhas were known as the Lakṣādhyāyi santāna. Lakṣādhyāyi santāna is explained as "the descendants of gurus supported by a monastery endowed with a bhikṣā or maintenance gift, or with the lakh gift".[16] A record of the reign of Immaḍi Narasiṅgarāya Dharmarāya dated A.D. 1500 refers to a certain Pāṇḍimaṇḍalādhipati Pāṇḍināṭṭu Mudaliyār as belonging to Bhikṣā Maṭha Santāna alias Lakṣādhyāyi Santāna, Gōḷagi Maṭha and the Aṟubattumūvan Tirumaḍam at Tirukkoḍunguṇṟam alias Dakṣina Kailāsam.[17] A record of the reign of Acyutarāya, dated A.D. 1530, connects the above mentioned Maṭhas with another Maṭha called Kallār Maḍam. According to the record, Pāṇḍināṭṭu Mudaliyār alias Isāna Sivan called Pāṇḍi- Maṇḍalādhipati is said to have been a disciple of the Bhikṣā Maṭha Santānam alias Lakṣādhyāyi Santānam of the Kallār Maḍam situated to the north of Tirukkodunguṇṟam alias Dakṣina Kailāsam in Tirumalai Nāḍu.[18] The Pāṇḍimaṇḍalādhipati or Pāṇḍya Mudaliyār seems to indicate that its holder was the head of the Saiva Maṭhas in Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalam. It is not unlikely that the Maṭhas belonging to this school of Saiva monks in other parts of the empire were also subjected to the authority of a single pontiff like Isāna Siva

Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalam. There was a Pāsupata Maṭha at Jaṁbukēsvaram known as Akhilanāyakī Tirumaḍam. The pontiffs of the Maṭha were celibates who never accepted Gṛhastrāsrama and enjoyed supreme power in the management of the local Isvara temple. But an important change came about in the later half of 16th century in the selection of the pontiffs of the Maṭha. According to an inscription dated A.D. 1584, Candrasēkhara Guru Uḍaiyar, a Pāsupata Gṛhasta, was appointed as the manager of the Akhilanāyaki Tirumaḍam. Consequently, with the appointment of a Pāsupata householder as the pontiff of the Maṭha, the office became hereditary.[19]

Another important Maṭha which appears to have played an important part during the time of the rulers of the Saṅgama dynasty belonged to the Kriyāsakti persuasion. The Kriyāsaktis, as pointed out already, belonged to the Kāḷamukha school and they were the preceptors of the Vijayanagara rulers and the other members of the royal family.[20] The available evidence does not show the existence of the Maṭhas belonging to them. However, it may be stated that this need not be taken as proof of their non-existence. The monks belonging to this persuasion must have lived in monasteries of their own.

Inscriptions from Kāḷahasti refer to a Saiva Maṭha known as Terkumaḍam situated probably at Kāḷahasti. One of the pontiffs of the Maṭha was Rudra Sivācārya, a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and Acyutarāya. This Maṭha does not appear to be economically strong during the reign of King Acyutarāya. For in A.D. 1537, Rudra Sivācārya, in order to liquidate the debts he had incurred in connection with the worship and offerings of Tirumaṇigaṅgai Nāyinār, Nāṇmuga Nāyinār, during theperiodof drought in the years Khara and Nandana, sold the village Periya Añjumbēḍu to the temple of Kāḷahasti Uḍaiya Nāyinār.[21] There was a Saiva Maṭha attached to Mārkaṇḍēsvara temple at Kōṭeyakēri.[22] The Vīramāhēsuran Mallikārjuna Ayyan Maṭha was situated at Sembiyamaṅgaḷam.[23] The Periyanāṭṭu Maṭha at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was a Saiva Maṭha and it appears to have exercised great influence in the administration of the local Aruṇācalēsvara temple. A copper plate grant dated A.D. 1513 of the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya throws important light on this Maṭha. According to it, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and Sāḷuva Nāyaka requested Aḷiyā Vīraḍam Koṇḍa Taṁbirān of the Periyanāṭṭu Maṭha for his consent to construct the thousand- pillared maṇḍapa in the Aruṇācalēsvara temple. Since the decision of the pontiff of the Maṭha alone was not final, Taṁbirān informed the members of the twenty-four Koṭṭams and seventy-nine Vaḷanāḍus and Ampi Aṛam Vaḷartta Mudaliyār, the head of the religious and charitable institutions at Hampi. On receiving this information all of them assembled at

Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and took the following decisions: to sell some land belonging to the Maṭha for 500 poṇ to be utilised for guilding the vimāna of the Uṇṇāmalai Amman shrine; to construct a new building for the Periyanāṭṭu Maṭha to the south-east of the big gōpura of the Aruṇācalēśvara temple; and to conduct the daily service called Aḷiyā Vīraḍam Koṇḍa Sandhi to God Aruṇācalēśvara by granting a tax free village, Mēlappālaiyūr. The epigraph further states that Aḷiyā Vīraḍam Koṇḍa Taṁbirān nominated his clerk Niṇaikkamukti Ōduvār as his successor, with all the privileges like māḍāpatyam, mudrā (seal) benediction (anugṛaha), and the right to receive the first prasāda in the Aruṇācalēśvara temple. The followers of the Periyanāṭṭu were mostly drawn from the agriculturists who were known as Bhūmiputtirar.[24]

It is surprising that this assembly, which was convened to take a decision on the request of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and Sāḷuva Nāyaka for the construction of a thousand-pillared maṇḍapa, should have ended its deliberations by taking decisions on other matters and not on the one for which it met. However, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the assembly did take a decision on that matter and, in all probability, in favour of the requesters. This is further strengthened by an epigraph dated A.D. 1516 which records the actual construction of the thousand-pillared maṇḍapa in the Aruṇācalēśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[25]

One of the important Vīra Śaiva Maṭhas of the period was the Siddha Bhikṣāvṛitti Maṭha which had its head quarters at Śrīśailam. The supreme pontiff of the Siddha Bhikṣāvṛitti Maṭha was the spiritual guru of several sects of people such as the Jaṅgamas, Vīra Balañjas, Vīramuṣṭis, etc. The Bhikṣāvṛitti Maṭha was evidently so called because the monks belonging to it were expected to live by bhikṣā or begging from the faithful.Inscriptions disclose the existence of Bhikṣāvṛitti Maṭhas in several parts of the kingdom, which were, in all probability, branches of the Bhikṣāvṛitti Maṭha at Śrīśailam. A record dated A.D. 1436 from Maleyūr refers to Bhikṣāvṛitti Voḍeyar of Śriparvata as the guru of Cinnayadēva.[26] Śrīliṅgacakrēśvara alias Siddha Bhikṣāvṛitti of Śrīparvata received the village Śirumanātukūru from King Virūpākṣa. The Vīra Śaiva Bhikṣāvṛitti gurus appear to have exercised influence as late as the reign of Tirumala. Vīra Śaiva Śāntabhikṣāvṛitti was the guru of Liṅgappaṇṇa, the Kāryakarta of Rāmarājayyadēva Mahārāja at whose command Liṅgappaṇṇa repaired the bund across the Bhōgavati to the west of the Mallikārjuna temple.[27] The teachers of the other Bhikṣāvṛitti Maṭhas figure in the inscriptions. Two records dated A.D. 1385 and A.D. 1386 from Tripurāntakam refer to Bhikṣāvṛitti Siddhaya.[28] A certain Parvatayya and his wife were the disciples of Siddha Bhikṣāvṛitti Ayyagāru.[29] Bhikṣāvṛitti Ayya who resided at Jainagiri was the leader of

the Vīra Balañja merchant guild of Ayyāvoḷe.[30] Siddha Bhikṣāvṛitti Ayya was the guide and philosopher of the Purāntakas of Beḍadūru at whose command the Purāntakas made a gift to the temples of Vīrēsvara and Gavi Rāmēsvara of Beḍadūru.[31]

Inscriptions record the gift of certain taxes due to the Siddha Bhikṣāvṛitti teachers from the Vīra Saiva communities such as Vīra Balañjas and Vīramuṣṭis. Siddha Bhikṣāvṛitti bearing the titles Khētāmbara Talagoṇḍa gaṇḍa bijanāraya mānamardana,etc., granted the income from the dues paid by the Vīramuṣṭis attached to the Agastyēsvara temple at Ciḍipirāla and the town itself to the temple for lamp offerings.[32] In A.D.1552 Vīramuṣṭi Huca Virāya and two other individuals remitted the Vīramuṣṭipannu in favour of the Vīrabhadra temple at Gōraṇṭla at the instance of Siddha Bhikṣāvṛitti Ayya.[33] Ajāti Vīra Saiva Siddha Bhikṣāvritti Ayyavāru granted ten mādas of gold collected from the members of the Vīra Saiva community in the villages of Nemmikallu, Rāmāpuram, Saimgalāpuram, Beḷudona, Tirumāpuram and Nala Timmāpuram which were under the spiritual control of Bhikṣāvṛitti Ayyavāru, for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Vīrabhadra at Nemmikallu.[34] The pontiff of the Siddha Bhikṣavṛitti Maṭha patronised Telugu poets and encouraged them to write Kāvyas describing the importance or the greatness of Saivism. Poet Srīnātha wrote, at the instance of Sānta Bhikṣāvṛitti, Sivarātrimāhātmayamu in which he depicted the greatness of the Sivarātri celebrated at Srīsailam. Gaurana wrote, at the instance of another pontiff of the Maṭha, his Navanādhacāritra.

The heads of the Bhikṣāvṛitti Maṭha bore several titles of which the following are important: Ajāti Vīra Saiva (who observed no caste distinctions); Svētāmbaratalagoṇḍaganḍa or the hero who had cut off the heads of the Svētāmbara Jainas, a title indicative of the conflict between the Vīra Saivas and the Jainas in which the heads of the Maṭha took a prominent part and Bijanārayamānamardana, obviously referring to the assassination of the Kaḷacurya king, Bijjala, by the followers of Basava.[35] The Hiriya Maṭha at Kumbhakōṇam belonged to the Vīra Saivas.[36] Nirāsi Maṭha was another Vīra Saiva institution to which in the year A.D.1491 Kuppaṭūr Vīraṇṇa- gauḍa granted Liṅgāpura and Kuppaṭūr.[37] Basava Maṭha finds mention in contemporary records.[38]

The Basava Maṭha at Srīsailam propagated the doctrines of Basava. Situated at Srīsailam, an important religious centre for the devotees of Siva, the Maṭha appears to have enjoyed the patronage of the officers of King Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Avasaram Candrasēkharayya, an ardent follower of Basava, granted the village Gaṭṭirājupeṇṭa to the Maṭha in A.D.1529.[39]

Epigraphs refer to a Saiva Maṭha at Suttūr. The elders of the Maṭha

entered into an agreement with the agent of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāmrāja Tirumalarājayyadēva whereby the land in the village Holeya Suttūr, originally granted to God Sōmēśvaradēva of Suttūr, was to be given to the Maṭha on rental basis.[40] Though it is not possible to identify the Maṭha as a Vīra Śaiva Maṭha, a later record of the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Mahārāya suggests the probability of its being a Vīra Śaiva institution. This record stated that Immaḍi Rāmarāja- nāyaka granted a village to Cennabasavarājadēva, disciple of Śivarātreyadēva of Suttūra Siṁhāsana.[41] Another record states that the image of a sacred bull was set up over the burial place of an ascetic of the maṭha at Suttūr by Liṅgaṇṇa-oḍeya as directed by Śivarātri oḍeya, the pontiff of the Maṭha.[42] As was customary for the Vīra Śaivas to bury instead of cremate, it may be inferred that this was a Vīra Śaiva Maṭha to have given a burial to the deceased pontiff of the Maṭha and place the image of a bull over it. The Vīra Śaivas considered Basava as an incarnation of Śiva's Vāhana Nandi, the Divine Bull.

The Upparigeya Maṭha at Ummattūr was a Vīra Śaiva institution. Canna Basavarājadēva, the senior pontiff of the Maṭha, rendered great service to the people during a period of acute famine. He got a well, probably in the premises of the Maṭha, renovated through the good offices of his followers at a time when grain was sold at 7 mānas for a haṇa and when men ate men.[43] Probably in recognition of the services of the Maṭha, Timmappa Nāyaka, one of the Vijayanagar chiefs, granted the village Bāṇagavāḍi in A.D. 1563.[44] The Nirāsi Maṭha at Ummattūr and probably its branch at Eragamballi served the Vīra Śaiva community. They were granted the income from the village of Honnarabāḷu[45] and income from another village, Mudigoṇḍa. The Maḷavaḷi Siṁ hāsana, another Vīra Śaiva Maṭha, received a village called Hoṇḍarabāḷu from Cāmarasagavuḍa of Hadināḍ in A.D. 1549.[46] The lingering traces of Ārādhya Śaivism are to be known from the existence of a Maṭha of the Ārādhya Śaivas at Honganūr. An epigraph in characters of 16th century refer to an endowment made by Vīra Sōmarāya to Ārādhya-voḍeya, son of Malapoḍeya of Huliyar, for the construction of a Maṭha at Honganūru.[47]

The Raghūttama Maṭha of Gōkarṇa was an important institution of the Smārta School. The teachers of this Maṭha who traced their descent from Śaṅkara, the great religious leader, enjoyed the honours befitting a prominent Maṭha, like the throne, crown, palanquin, white umbrella, cāmaras, makara tōraṇa, fan, day light torch, yellow and red flags, and musical instruments. These honours were granted to the Maṭha by Vidyāraṇya in the time of Cidbōdha Bhāratī Śrīpāda, a disciple of Śītā Rāmacandra Bhāratī.[48] In A.D. 1463, during the time of Rāghavēśara

Bhāratī Śrīpāda, Immaḍi Prauḍha Dēvarāya gave a vaibhava tāmra sāsana granting some more honours to the Maṭhas,like two five-branched torches, five kalasas above the palanquin , etc.[49] In A.D. 1506, Rāghavēsvarasvāmi Bhāratī, devoted to the worship of God Rāmacandra, received the villages situated between Āranād and Honne Koppa on behalf of the Maṭha from Sōmaṇṇa Nāyaka, the lord of Āraga Kingdom. Rāghavēsvara Bhāratī was described as a "pharamahaṁsa", giver of boons to the excellent parivrājakācāryas, as one who saw the farthest end of the ocean of grammar, logic and philosophy, proficient in all arts, expounder of the traditions of the Mahābhāṣya and other true Śāstras, Chief Lord of Sata Śṛiṅgāpura residing in Gōkarṇa, his mind concentrated on the Rāma Maṅtra.[50] Śrīpāda was the title of the teachers of the Maṭha who were strict celibates. The affiliation of the Raghūttama Maṭha to Śṛṅgēri Maṭha of the Advaita school is expressly stated in the records pertaining to the Maṭha. They call themselves the Chief Lords of Sata Śṛiṅgāpura of Śṛṅgēri. The Haiva Drāviḍas settled in the Haiva country appear to be the followers of the Raghūttamma Maṭha at Gōkarṇa. For a record dated A.D. 1450 states thus: "Whereas the oversigh of the dharma, the prāyascitta and agrapūje of the Brahmans distinguished as Haiva Drāviḍas, settled in the Haiva country, has descended you from a branch of the connection of Vidyānandācārya, the senior of Vidyābōdhaghanācārya, formerly resident in our Risyaśṛiṅgāpura and been exercised by you in due succession;[51] and both branches of the connection being the same,in the presence of (the God), Mahābalēśvara be granted to you in addition, throne, crown, palanquin, white umbrella, chamaras on both sides, makaratōraṇa,etc." There was another Maṭha of the Smārtas at Tīrthahaḷḷi. Dēvēndrapuri Śrīpāda and his disciple Gaṅgādharapūri Śrīpāda are mentioned in the records.[52]

The Tīrthamuttūra Maṭha at Tīrthamuttūr was an institution of the Smārta Saṁpradāya. In A.D. 1421 the Paramahaṁsa- parivrājakācārya, Tīrthamuttūr Saṅkara Bhāratī Śrīpāda, purchased some lands from the Brahmans of Hiriya Hoḷalūr for the Maṭha.[53]

The Munivṛinda Maṭha at Bhīmanakaṭṭe finds mention in an epigraphical record dated A.D. 1367. A gift of land was made to this Maṭha by Kaivalyanātha, a disciple of Garuḍavāhanatīrtha Śrīpāda,for the worship of Sītā Rāma.[54]

The Maleyāḷa Maṭha at Kuruvaḷḷi was a prominent institution. In A.D. 1437, Mutaparsa Heggaḍe entrusted some land to the care of Gaṅgādharapuri Śrīpāda and Padmanābha Śrīpāda of the Maleyāḷa Maṭha for building a Maṭha.[55] A record of the reign of Sadāśivarāya

gives the following teachers of the Maṭha:

Gaṅgādhara Yōgi
Amarēndrapuri Yōgi
Yādavēndrapuri Yōgi
Amarēndrapuri Yōgi
Dēvēndrapuri Yōgi

According to the same record, Dēvēndrapuri Yōgi installed Viśvēśvara liṅga in the Maleyāḷa Maṭha and granted six villages for the worship of the God in A.D. 1564.[56] A record of the reign of Acyuta refers to a Śaiva Maṭha known as the Aghōra Śivācārya Maṭha at Kōṭavallūru. Aghōra Śivācāryula Cennappa figures as the pontiff of the Maṭha. However, the exact affiliation of this Maṭha is not known.[57]

VAIṢṆAVA MAṬHAS

The Ahōbilam Maṭha of the Vadagalai Śrī Vaiṣṇavas situated at Ahōbilam was a prominent religious institution of the times. It was founded by Ādivaṇ Saṭhagōpa Jīyar during the early half of the fifteenth century. According to Sannidhi Guruparaṁpara, a small work in Tamil dealing with the lives of the successive heads of the Ahōbilam Maṭha, Vaṇ Saṭhagōpa Jīyar was born in A.D.1379, became a Sanyāsi at the age of twenty, founded and presided over the Maṭha for a period of sixty years and died in about A.D. 1458.[58] It does not suggest even an approximate date for the foundation of the Maṭha. The earliest reference to Vaṇ Saṭhagōpa Jīyar is found in a record dated A.D. 1485. According to this record, one Nallār Angāṇḍai completed the verandah of the Vasanta maṇṭapam at Tirupati which was started by Vaṇ Saṭhagōpa Jīyar "in the past".[59] Since the title of the pontiffs of the Ahōbilam Maṭha was Saṭhagōpa Jīyar and this was the earliest epigraphical reference to a Saṭhagōpa Jīyar, he may be identified with the Āḍi Vaṇ Saṭhagōpa Jīyar, the founder of the Ahōbilam Maṭha. According to tradition, Vaṇ Saṭhagōpa Jīyar visited Tirupati and laid the stone steps of the path way leading to the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirumala.[60] Hence the epigraph cited earlier refers to the Āḍi Vaṇ Saṭhagōpa Jīyar, the founder of the Maṭha.

Āḍi Vaṇ Saṭhagōpa Jīyar was succeeded by Nārayāṇa Jīyar who figures in records dated A.D.1493 [61] and A.D. 1516[62]. These epigraphs register cash endowments for certain offerings in his name in the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati in A.D. 1516. He is referred to as the disciple

of Vaṇ Śaṭhagōpa Jīyar. According to Guruparaṁpara, Nārayāṇa Jīyar occupied the pontifical seat in A.D. 1459, held the post for fourteen years and died in A.D. 1473.[63] But this is untenable in the light of the epigraphical evidence cited above.

The successor of Nārayāṇa Jīyar was Parāṅkuśa Jīyar who, according to the Guruparaṁpara account, ascended the pontifical gadi in A.D. 1473.[64] But this is not tenable as the inscriptions from Kaṅci and Ahōbilam suggest A.D. 1530 and A.D. 1540 as the period of his activity, falling in the reign of Acyutarāya. In these records he figures as the donor of some villages to the Arulāl Perumāḷ temple at Kaṅci for certain offerings to God. As a devout Vaiṣṇava, he also instituted the recitation of Kauśika purāṇam in the temple. More important than this, he called himself the disciple of Nārayāṇa Jīyar.[65] He was described as a reviver of Rāmānuja- darśana and as a spiritual teacher of Mukundadēva who may be identified with Vīra Mukunda Gajapati Mahādēva of the Drākṣārāmam record dated A.d. 1567.[66] Parāṅkuśa Jīyar's popularity is known from a record from Tirumala which notes the provision for an offering to Lord Veṅkaṭēśa on the day of the star Śatabhiṣa, the annual birth star of Parāṅkuśa Jīyar. The provision for the celebration of the annual birth star could not be intended for a lesser pontiff than that of Parāṅkuśa Jīyar of the Ahōbilam Maṭha, who deserved the attention and affection of his followers.[67] He seem to have enjoyed the longest period of spiritual rule, upto A.D. 1564.[68]

Parāṅkuśa Jīyar constructed a Maṭha at upper Ahōbilam in A.D. 1563 and granted a piece of land in the village of Cinnakōmerla for the offerings to the processional image of God Ahōbalēśvara.[69] From the titles such as Vēdamārga praṣṭipānācārya, paramahaṁsa parivrājakācārya, Sarvatantra śvatantra, Ubhayavēdāntācārya, etc., he may be identified with Parāṅkuśa Jīyar of the earlier records. Puruṣōttama Jīyar appears to be the spiritual successor of Parāṅkuśa Jīyar. The Nandēla or Nandyāla Chiefs were the followers of Puruṣōttama Jīyar. Kṛṣṇamarāja, son of Nandēla Cina Ōbannamgāru, was a disciple of Puruṣōttama Jīyar to whom the Chief granted the village, Cina Kōmerla.[70]

As Ahōbilam Maṭha attained great prominence as a Śrī Vaiṣṇava institution, it established branches in other parts of the empire. Reference to a Vaṇ Śaṭhagōpa Maṭha at Tirumala is dated A.D. 1493. It not only refers to the Dēśāntaris who, presumably, were the disciples of Vaṇ Śaṭhagōpa Jīyar, were also the managers of the Maṭha and the Vaṇ Śaṭhagōpa maṇṭapam. It seems to have enjoyed special recognition considering the fact that an offering was made in front of the Maṭha on all the eight festival days during eight Brahmōtsavams.[71] The Seṭṭis or mer-

chants of Tirupati are to be found among the adherents of the Maṭha.[72]

The Arisāṇālaiyan Maṭha [73] and the Pērāruḷāḷam Maṭha helped the cause of Srī Vaiṣṇavism. The Ekāki Srī Vaiṣṇavas managed the former and received the Maṭha - Sēṣha prasādam or the share deducted from the prasādam for the Maṭha. However, no information is available regarding the pontiffs of the Maṭha. The Pērāruḷāḷam Maṭha appears to be a well-established organisation headed by a distinguished line of pontiffs. This figures prominently from the period of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's rule, that is, A.D. 1509 onwards.[74] Tiruveṅkaṭa Jīyar figures as the manager of this Maṭha as well as the Pērāruḷāḷam flower garden at Tirumala.[75] Periya Kōil Kēḷvi Yatirāya Jīyar, disciple of Aḷagiya Maṇavāla Jīyar, was the pontiff of this Maṭha during the reign of Acyutarāya.[76] Nūṟṟeṇmar Maṭha was organised by the Assembly at Tirucānūr. As the Assembly consisted of 108 members, the Maṭha managed by this Assembly was called Nūṟṟeṇmar Maṭha. Tuppil Venri Aṇṇan Varadarājan was the head of the Maṭha.[77]

One of the principal Vaiṣṇava Maṭhas established by Rāmānuja was the Yatirāja Maṭha at Melkōṭe. This Maṭha received the patronage and recognition of the Vaiṣṇava rulers like Acyutarāya and Sadāsivarāya. According to an inscription dated A.D. 1544, on the south outer wall of the temple, the pontiff of the Maṭha, Vēdānti Rāmānuja Jīyar, received the dēsāntari mudrā of Nārāyaṇa or Calapiḷerāya temple at Melkōṭe. The pontiff was empowered to manage the temple property, maintain a staff of his own for collecting the income,etc., and also enjoy the same honours as the fifty-two Srī Vaiṣṇavas, the first disciples of Rāmanujācārya.

Vēdānti Rāmānuja Jīyar, a disciple of Kandāḍai Aṇṇa of Śrīraṅgam or Vadhula Varadarāya (A.D. 1526), is described as Vēdamārga pratiṣṭāpanācārya, paramahaṁsa parivrājakācārya and Ubhaya Vēdāntācārya. He was the author of several works on religion and philosophy, like Nirhētukatva dīpika, Kaivalya dīpika, Divyasūriprabhāva dīpika and Aṣṭaślokivyākhya. The last book is a commentary on Parāsara Bhaṭṭārya's Aṣṭasloki containing the quintessence of Visiṣṭādvaita philosophy.[78]

Kūḍali Ārya Maṭha was another Vaiṣṇava Maṭha situated at Kūḍali. In A.D. 1527 Kṛṣṇadēvarāya granted five villages to Nārayāṇa Yatīndra, discipie of Raghupati Yatīndra. Nārayāṇa Yatīndra was a renowned Vaiṣṇava teacher. He was described as parama-haṁsa parivrāja mahātma who had seen the farthest point of grammar and logic, the chief proponent of Vaiṣṇavāgama Siddhānta, a Bṛihaspati in interpreting the Vēdas and Śāstras, his feet illuminated by the jewels in the crowns of

great kings.[79]

The Parakāla Maṭha established at Kañci in A.D.1360 by Brahmatantra Swatantra Jīyar was a prominent Vaiṣṇava institution. It did yeoman service in propagating the Rāmānuja darsana. It came to be known as Parakāla-Maṭha when it was shifted to Melkōṭe in the Mysore State.[80] The succession list of the pontiffs of the Maṭha is as follows:

Periya Brahmatantra Swatantra	A.D. 1360-86
Vātsya Vēdānta Rāmānuja or Brahmatantra Swatantra II	A.D. 1386-94
Śrīnivāsa Brahmatantra Swatantra or Brahmatantra Swatantra III	A.D. 1394-1406
Parakāla Swāmi	A.D. 1406-24
Vēdānta Rāmānuja Swāmi	A.D. 1424-40
Śrīnivāsa Brahmatantra Swatantra I	A.D. 1440-60
Nārayāṇa Jogīndra Brahmatantra Raṅgarāja	A.D. 1460-82
	A.D. 1482-98
Brahmatantra Swatantra IV	A.D. 1498-1517
Brahmatantra Yatirāja	A.D. 1517-35
Varada Brahmatantra Swatantra	A.D. 1535-52
Brahmatantra Parāṅkuśa	A.D. 1552-67
Kavitārkika Siṁha	A.D. 1567-83[81]

Paripūrna Maṭha also figures in the contemporary records as a Vaiṣṇava institution.[82]

Rāmānujakūṭams

As adjuncts to the Śrī Vaiṣṇava Maṭhas there were what were called Rāmānujakūṭams which were essentially feeding houses. In these Kūṭams food was offered gratis to Vaiṣṇava devotees from far and near. Incidentally these Kūṭams afforded opportunities to the Vaiṣṇava devotees for discussing matters of religious importance.[83] Almost all the prominent Vaiṣṇava centres of the period, such as Tirumala, Tirupati,[84] Kañci,[85] Śrīraṅgam,[86] Ahōbilam,[87] Śrīperumbudūr[88]; maintained

Rāmānuja-Kūṭams to which gifts of various kinds were made by kings and queens, members of the aristocracy as well as by wealthy citizens.

MADHVA MATHAS

There were a number of Maṭhas of the Madhva Saṁpradāya established in different parts of the empire for the propagation of the Madhva religion. There were eight Maṭhas originally established by Madhvācārya, known as the Aṣṭa Maṭhas of Udipi. Some of the Madhva Maṭhas which found mention in the epigraphs are the Pejāvar Maṭha,[89] Siroor or Seroo Maṭha,[90] Pootega Maṭha,[91] Aundamaura Maṭha,[92] Kṛṣṇāpur Maṭha,[93] Phalmāru Maṭha,[94] Sode Maṭha,[95] Kāṇūr Maṭha, Bhaṇḍārkere Maṭha and Adamār Maṭha.[96] The Baḍagaṇa Maṭha at Kantāra belonged to the Madhva school. In A.D. 1433 a gift of land was made to the pontiff of this Maṭha, Rājarajēsvara tīrtha.[97]

Outside of the South Kanara district, the task of propagating the Dvaita religion was taken up by the Vyāsarāya Maṭha at Sosale and the Uttarādi Maṭha. These two Maṭhas originally belonged to the same lineage but separated themselves during the time of Vidyādhirāja. Rajēndratīrtha, the first disciple of Vidyādhirāja, was the founder of the Vyāsarāya Maṭha at Sosale and Kavīndra, the second disciple ordained by Vidyādhirāja, established an independent Maṭha known as Uttarādi Maṭha.[98] The Vyāsarāya Maṭha at Sosale enjoyed the patronage of the Vijayanagara rulers, the chiefs of Yalahakkanāḍ and the Nāyakas of Madhura. Two copper plate records, dated A.D. 1521, register grants of villages Kṛṣṇarāyapura and Kannērumaḍugu to this Maṭha by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.[99] Immaḍi Kempaya-gauḍa , Chief of Yalahakkanāḍ, granted an agrahāra, Vyāsarāya-Samudra, to the same Maṭha during the reign of Rāmarāyadēva mahārāya. This village was granted for making offerings to the presiding deity of the Maṭha, Gōpālakṛṣṇa. Provision was also made for the exposition of Śāstras and Purāṇas in the Maṭha. The grant mentions the names of two pontiffs of the Maṭha, namely, Rāmacandra Voḍeya and his spiritual guru Lakṣmīkānta Voḍeya.[100]

Vyāsarāya established Maṭhas at Tirumala and Tirupati during the time of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. According to an epigraph inscribed on a slab lying in front of Śrī Vyāsarāya's Maṭha, in the North Mada Street, Tirumala, Vyāsarāya was permitted to build a Maṭha. He was also authorised to receive the quarter share of the prasādam offered in the name of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya for the charity of his Maṭha. Another inscription found in front of Vyāsarāya's Maṭha in the Gōvindarājasvāmi temple, North Mada Street in Tirupati, states that Vyāsarāya was authorised to build his Maṭha at Tirupati and receive prasādam,, arecanuts, betel-leaves daily for the use of this Maṭha.[101]

JAINA MAṬHAS

The principal Maṭhas of the Jainas were situated at Śrāvaṇa Belgoḷa in Hassan District, Maleyur, in Mysore District and Humca in Shimoga District. The Śrāvana Belgoḷa Maṭha, which claims religious supremacy over the other Maṭhas of South India, was founded by Cāmunda Rāya in about 983 A.D. who set up the colossal statue of Gommata on the Vindhyagiri. The pontiffs of the Maṭha belonged to Kuṇḍa-Kundānvaya, Mūla Saṅgha, Dēśi gaṇa and Pustaka gachcha. They bore the name of Cārukīrti paṇḍitācārya.

The Maleyūr Maṭha was founded by Akaḷaṅka who defeated the Buddhists at Kañci in A.D. 788. Hailing from Maleyūr, he established a Maṭha at the same place. The title of the gurus of the Maṭha was Bhaṭṭakaḷaṅka.

The Humca Maṭha was established by Jīnadattarāya in about the 8th century. The gurus belonged to the Kuṇḍakundānvaya and Nandi saṅgha. The line of teachers of this Maṭha is as follows:

Dharmabhūṣana	A.D. 1401 - 1451
Vidyānanda	1451 - 1508
Siṁhakīrti	1463 - 1482
Sudarśana	
Mērunandi	
Dēvēndrakīrti	
Amarakīrti	
Viśālakīrti	1465 - 1479
Nēmicandra	1508-1542[102]

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1. S.I.I., Vol. IX, Pt.11, No.423.

2. MER, 1936-37, Para 55.

3. S.I.I., Vol.IX, Pt.II, No.423.

4. N.Desikacharya, The Origin and Growth of Sri Brahmatantra Parakāla Mutt, p.5.

5. MER, 1929-30, No.117.

6. MER, 1929-30, No.571. Vidyātmatīrtha and Viśvapatitīrtha figure as the teacher and disciple in the records.

7. E.C.,VII, T.N.47.

8. E.C.,III, Sr. 89.

9. MER, 1929-30, No.599.

10. MER, 1912, Nos.354, 389, 390.

11. Ibid, Nos.352, 368, In the capacity of temple treasurer and trustee he gave certain temple lands to Tirumalai Nāyaka on lease in the year A.D. 1520.

12. Ibid., No.365.

13. Ibid., Nos.373, 356.

14. MER, 1924, Para 50.

15. MER, 1905, Nos.323, 272, 195, 223, 253; J.A.H.R.S.,Vol.IV, p.147. The original home of the Gōḷagi Maṭha was situated in the Navalakṣa Dāhaḷa Tripuri. A record dated A.D. 1247 refers to Gōḷagiri,situated in Navalakṣa Dāhaḷa Tripuri. MER, 1905, No.253. Gōḷagi was a probable contraction of Gōḷagiri. MER, 1913, Para 55; The circular temple discovered in Tripuri is identified as the site of the original Gōḷagi Maṭha which spread its branches in the South. Dr. M.G.Dikshit, Tripuri Excavations, 1952, pp.34-35.

16. G. Yazdani,The Early History of the Deccan, Pt.8, VII-XI, p.708.

17. MER, 1924, No.213.

18. Ibid., No.193.

19. JOR, Vol.XXV. Dr.T.V.Mahalingam, A Family of Pāsupata Grahastas at Jambukēsvaram.

20. See under Saivism.

21. MER, 1924, Nos.164, 172, 179.

22. Ibid., 1929-30, No.590. This Maṭha was constructed by Rupaṇṇa Oḍeya, Governor of Bārakūru,during the reign of Dēvarāya. Provision was made for the feeding of Brahmans in the Maṭha.

23. Ibid., 1912, No.375.

24. S.I.T.I.,Vol.III, Pt.1, No.1101.

25. MER.,1903, No.574.

26. E.C.,IV. Pt.11, Ch.145.

27. Ep. Ind.,Vol.XV, p.8; S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.280.

28. MER, 1905, Nos. 270, 257.

29. Ibid., 1915, No.12.

30. Ibid., 1937-38, Nos. 201, 200, 202. Probably under his guidance the Vīra Balañja merchants granted certain toll incomes on articles of merchandise for the lamp offerings of God of Vīrabhadra at Anivela.

31. Ibid., No.306.

32. Ibid., No.205.

33. Ibid., No.316.

34. Ibid., 1919, No.686.

35. MER, 1937-38, No.205.

36. Ibid., 1955-56, No.318.

37. E.C.,VIII, 86, 356.

38. S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.86.

39. S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.86.

40. E.C.,Vol.III, No.217.

41. Ibid., 218.

42. Ibid., 236.

43. E.C.,Vol.IV, Ch.232.

44. Ibid. No.229.

45. Ibid., Ch.231, Ko, 89.

46. Ibid., Ko.90.

47. Ibid. Ch.163.

48. E.C.,VIII, Nr.67.

49. E.C. VIII,No.68. In 1463 Immaḍi Prauḍharāya also granted three villages belonging to Caturmandi for offerings to God Ramachandra, the favourite deity of Raghavesvara Sarasvati Sripada. E.C.,VIII Ng.69.

50. E.C.,VIII, Ng.64.

51. E.C.,VIII, Nr.67.

52. E.C.,VIII, Th.2, 1.

53. E.C.,VIII, Tl.144.

54. E.C.,VIII, Tl.157.

55. E.C.,VIII, Tl.175.

56. E.C., VIII, Tl.171. According to the same record Gaṅgādhara Yōgi set up God Nrisiṁha in Tīrthhaḷḷi.

57. S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.123.

58. T.D.E. Report, p.212.

59. T.T. D.I.,Vol.II, No.83.

60. T.D.E. Report, p.213.

61. In this epigraph a certain Tammayyan, a Brahman of Kuṇakkuṇṭai, stated to be the disciple of Vaṇ Saṭhagōpa Jīyar arranged for the issue of a share of the offered prasādam to his teacher and disciples in succession who supervised the cultivation of the donor's flower garden at Tirumala. T.T.D.I.,Vol.11.

62. Ibid., Vol.111, Nos.110, 114.

63. T.D.E. Report, p.214.

64. T.D.E. Report, p.214.

65. MER 1919, Nos.373, 374.

66. S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.296 ; M.E.R.1919, No.335.

67. T.T.D.I.,Vol.IV, No.46.

68. M E R ,1915, Nos.73,75, 65, 79; S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.216.

69. S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.261.

70. S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.109; MER 1915, Nos.76,82.

71. T.T.D.I.,Vol.II, No.112. The epigraphist observed that the exact position of this Maṭha is not mentioned but it must have been situated in the north row of the South Street in Tirumala where a new building for the Ahōbila Maṭha is now under construction. T.D.E. Report, p.215.

72. T.T.D.I.,Vol.111, No.4.

73. T.T.D.I.,Vol.I. Nos.187, 188.

74. Ibid., Vol.111, Nos.107.

75. Ibid., No.140.

76. Ibid., Vol.IV, No.163.

77. Ibid., Vol.11, No.129.

78. My. Arch. Rep. 1907, pp.9-10.

79. E.C.,VII, Sh.84.

80. N.Desikacharya, The Origin and Growth of Sri Brahmatantra Parakala Mutt.,p.9.

81. Ibid., p. XXIII.

82. S.I.I.,Vol.XVI, No.172.

83. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Third Dynasty, p.233.

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91. Ibid., No.258.

92. Ibid., Nos.260, 261.

93. Ibid., Nos.241; MER, 1901, No.115.

94. Ibid., No.98; MER,1901, No.56.

95. B.N.K. Sharma, Dvaita School, Vol.11, pp.192-93.

96. Ibid., Vol.1, pp.270, 271, 267.

97. Rangacharya, Top. List.,Inscri. Mad. Presi.,Vol.11, South Kanara, No.98.

98. B.N.K. Sharma, Dvaita School; Vol.1, pp.263, 265.

99. E.C.V. T,N.105, 106.

100. Ibid., T.N.109.

101. T.T.D.I.,Vol.111, Nos.158,157, 159.

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10

Popular Cults and Practices

Besides the worship of principal divinities like the Trimūrtis and their consorts, the religious beliefs and practices of the masses as well as the classes included worship of the village deities, worship of Parivāradēvatas or the attendant deities of the Trimūrtis, performance of self-immolation and self-torture, hero worship, celebration of festivals, observance of vratas, going on pilgrimages to sacred places, performance of dānas, yōgic and tantric cults.

Village Deities

Worship and propitiation of Grāmadēvatas or village deities was an important feature of popular religion. People believed that the village goddesses were the guardian deities of the land who protected them from famine and pestilence, evil spirits and evil effects. Even today the cult of these goddesses is very popular in Southern India and no village is found without the shrine of the Grāmadēvata.

Whitehead observes,"Every village in South India is believed by the people to besurroundedby evil spirits, who are always on the watch to inflict diseases and misfortunes of all kinds on the unhappy villagers. It is also commonly believed that they lurk everywhere, on the tops of palmyra trees, in caves and rocks, in ravines and chasms, fly in the air like birds of prey, ready to pounce down upon any unprotected victim, and the Indian villagers pass through life in constant dread of these invisible enemies. Eventually the poor turn towards these Goddesses for protection, against evil spirits and epidemics of cholera, smallpox or fever, cattle disease, failure of crops, childlessness, fires and all the manifold ills that flesh is heir to in an Indian village."[1]

The village deities are generally female as the gods of war are mostly male. Inscriptional evidence proves the existence of special temples for their worship in the different parts of the empire, such as Yellamma Temple at Saundatti,[2] Caudēsvarī temple at Cōḷasamudram,[3] Irukulamma at Nellore,[4] Poḷaladēvī of Maṅgaḷūru,[5] and Mūkāmbikādēvī at Kollūru.[6] Among these village goddesses certain goddesses were specially worshipped for getting progeny.For instance,in A.D. 1517 Rāyasada Koṇḍamarasayya, son of Mantri Timmarsa,made some gift to Goddess Caudēsvari in order that the King may be blessed with children.[7] Akkaladēvī of Karimadula,[8] Maṁkāḷamma,[9] Nūkalaparamēsvari and Gaṅgāparamēsvari of Donakonda,[10] Durgādēvī at Āttuvāmpāḍi,[11] Durgamma shrine at Sangala, Durgā Paramēsvari shrine on the top of the hill at Amīnābad,[12]Ekkaladēvī Amman at Paḍavēḍu,[13] Vūṭāḷamma, Gana Kāḷidēvī, Aṅkāḷamma, Ūruganṭi Amma, Nāṅcaramma were some of the popular village goddesses of the period.[14] The Jātaras dedicated to the Grāma dēvatas described as gāli gaṅgalu included animal sacrifices.[15] According to an epigraph dated A.D. 1556 four persons were appointed under the orders of Iḍaitturai Tambikkōṇ and Kāvanāyakakkōṇ, the agents of Cinna Bommu Nāyakarayyan, of Veluru, for supplying four sheep each day on the days of Māhanavami and Paṅguni Uttiram to the Prasaṇṇa Ekkaladēvī temple at Tiruvadirai.[16] Paes testifying to these animal sacrifices says,"At the door of one of these temples they kill every day many sheep,for in all the city they do not kill any sheep for the use of the heathen, or for sale in the markets, except at the gates of this Pagoda. Of their blood they make sacrifices to their idol in the temple. There is present at the slaughter of these beasts a Jogi who has charge of the temple and as soon as they cut off the head of the sheep or goat the Jogi blows a horn as a sign that the idol receives the sacrifice."[17] Dr. N. Veṅkaṭaramanayya identified this temple as the shrine of one of the Seven Sisters on the ground that the Seven Sisters were fond of blood and the services of a Jogi were required in the temple.[18]Vallabharāya refers to dancing by women of the Pariah class in the nude during the celebrations in connection with a Jatara dedicated to Ēkavīra and Māhuramma.[19]Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa, in his Pāṇḍuraṅgamahātmyamu,gives a graphic description of the celebrations during a Jatara dedicated to goddess Gaṅga. He says that men and women of the lower classes, especially in the country side, took an oil bath, put on new clothes, adorned themselves with garlands of flowers and margosa leaves and chewing betel walked across the fields to the temple of Gaṅga situated on the outskirts of the village. At the shrine it was a macabre scene what with the men and women, dead drunk, shouting at the top of their voices, streams of blood flowing from the severed necks of innumerable goats slaughtered to propitiate the goddess, some of the women, to fulfil their vows hanging

themselves from the 'Siḍi-mrānu'[20] or jumping into pits filled with blazing coals, or vaulting into pits of fire, or dancing on tender plantain leaves like lotuses on water weeds, or cutting off bits of flesh from their haunches and offering the same to the deity, or offering 'Mārugālu' or piercing their jaws with long and sharp needles (Nōṭi- tāḷamu-liccuṭa).[21]

Kāḷī worship was also prevalent during the period under review. The celebrated poet Śrīnātha tells us that Kāḷī, the fierce form of Śakti, was worshipped by the people of fifty-six countries and that a Jātara was conducted in her honour when animal sacrifices were offered to her. Describing a great temple of Kāḷī in the Heuṇa country[22] the poet compares the tall and huge trees in the vicinity of the temple to Vētāḷa Gaṇas who drank the blood of the animals killed in the temple.[23] An inscription dated A.D.1394 refers to Bukka as Bhadra- Kāḷī-ghaṭa- vidhēya indicating that Bukka was also a worshipper of Kāḷī.[24] It appears that some times human sacrifices were also offered to Kāḷī. An oblique reference to it is contained in the Mairāvaṇacaritra.[25]

Seven Sisters

The institution of the Seven Sisters in Southern India seems to be an imitation of the institution of Saptra Mātṛkas.[26] They bestowed progeny on those who worshipped them for offspring. In Southern India, the mothers are sometimes called Pēraṇṭāḷḷu. The Krīḍābhirāmam gives an interesting description of an Akkala-Kolupu (the festival of the sisters) organised by a house holder desirous of progeny.[27] Even today in families whose members worship Kāmavallī, one of the sisters as their tutelary deity, it is customary to organise during marriage functions, such a festival, the main aspect of which is to invite seven women and honour them in different ways as the Seven Sisters. Another goddess known as Kūnalamma or one who bestows children on women was also worshipped for progeny. Women used to offer a white saree with a red border to Kūnalamma and in order to have her blessings clad themselves in that saree.[28]

Among the village gods of the period mention may be made of Pōturāju, Dharmarāju, Kaṁbanayya, Dēvādulu, Kāṭirēḍu,etc.[29] It was customary to set apart some portions of land in the Sarvamānya grants for the maintenance of the village gods.[30]

Nāga Worship

Another aspect of the popular religion pertained to worship of snakes. Among the Nāgas the hooded cobra was considered to be the most important and worship was offered to it on the fourth day of the bright fortnight in the month of Śrāvaṇa.[31] On this day known as

Nāgulacaviti women used to fast and pour milk over the Nāgakals or stones on which figures of snakes were carved in relief or over ant hills in which cobras were believed to reside. It was believed that worshipping Nāgas would confer motherhood in fulfilment of their vow on women who used to install Nāgakals when they were blessed with offspring. The Nāga stone carved with the figure of a cobra and kept in water for six months in order to give it life (prāṇa pratiṣṭa) used to be set up under a sacred pipal or margosa tree. There are a number of Nāgakals belonging to the Vijayanagara period preserved in the north-east corner of the underground temple dedicated to Śiva at Hampi.

Sculptural evidence points to the regular worship of the Nāgas apart from the special worship offered on Nāgulacaviti. There is a carved stone image of a Nāgini on the verandah of the Travellers Rest-house at Kamalāpur. The Nāgini carved on a pīṭha with two female attendants and a floriated aureola over its head indicates that it was designed as a regular cult goddess.[32]

A similar image, though less inferior in workmanship, is found in Kamalāpur. The huge stones strewn round the base of the image suggest the existence of a shrine for this Nāgi image.[33]

According to Aṁśumadbhēdāgama of Nāgadēva, the image of Nāgadēva should have three eyes, four arms, a beautiful countenance, red colour and a karaṇḍa-makuṭa over its head and should be adorned with ornaments. The front arms should be in the abhaya and varada postures while the back hands should hold a snake in each. The Nāgadēva should be canopied by a five-hooded cobra. The Śilparatna says that the Nāg should be represented as half-human and half-serpent. The serpent hood that covers the head may have one, three, five or seven heads with split tongues. The hands carry a sword and shield.[34] This description more or less tallies with the image of Nāgini kept in the Traveller s'Rest-house at Kamalāpur.

Tree Worship

Like serpents trees were also worshipped. The Upanayana or investiture with the sacred thread was performed by the devotees to a pipal tree. It was customary to plant a pipal and a margosa tree side by side at the entrance of a village and to perform the marriage of both the trees which represented the bride and bride- groom.[35]

Self-immolation

A widely prevalent belief among the Śaivaites of the time was that a true devotee should sacrifice everything, including his life, as a measure

of the depth and sincerity of his devotion. And this belief had given rise to certain religious practices or rites which were at once audacious and ghastly, such as the offering of one's own head or limbs, getting crushed under the wheels of the chariot carrying the image of the deity, hookswinging,etc.

The most important of these rites was self-immolation or offering one's own head or body or any limb thereof to the deity in fullfilment of a personal desire as an expression of gratitude for protecting the community from pestilence or calamity. This rite was called, 'Siḍitala', 'Miditala' or 'Gaṇḍa-tala'.[36] It was called Siḍitala or Siḍe tale-gōḍu means offering the springing head. It was called Miḍi-tala probably because the severed head was left hanging in mid-air.[37] It was called Gaṇḍa-tala because the iron instrument used by the devotee for cutting off his head was known as Gaṇḍakattera. All the foreign travellers to South India like Nicolo Conti,[38] Friar Odoric[39] and Friar Jordanus[40] have left behind eye-witness accounts of the manner in which this rite was performed. "Many", writes Nicolo Conti, "who have determined upon self-immolation present themselves having on their neck a broad circular piece of iron, the forepart of which was round and hinder part extremely sharp. A chain attached to the forepart hangs suspended upon the breast into which the victims, sitting down with their legs drawn up and their neck bent, inserted their feet. Then.. they suddenly stretched out their legs and,at the same time drawing their neck, cut off their own heads yielding up their lives as a sacrifice to their idols. These men are regarded as saints."

Friar Jordanus writing about Greater India records the following information about self-immolation. "In this Greater India many sacrifice themselves to idols in this way. When they are sick, or involved in any grave mischange, they vow themselves to an idol if they should happen to be delivered. Then, when they have recovered, they fatten themselves for one or two years continually, eating and drinking fat things,etc. And when another festival comes round, they cover themselves with flowers and perfumes, and crown themselves with white garlands, and go with singing and playing before the idol when it is carried through the land; and those men who are sacrificing themselves to the idol carry a sword with two handles, like those which are used in currying leather; and, after they have shown off a great deal, they put the sword to the back of the neck, cutting strongly with a vigorous exertion of both hands, and so cut off their own heads before the idol." The practice of self- immolation developed into a regular institution and special shrines, dedicated to Bhairava and Vīrabhadra, and called Caṁpudu-guḷḷu, were built to be used by devotees desiring to sacrifice their lives.[41] King Anavēma Reḍḍi of Koṇḍavīdu is stated to have built a stone pavilion called Vīra- Siṟō-

Maṇṭapa at Śrīśailam, in the court yard of the Mallikārjuna temple in A.D. 1378.[42] The inscription states,"How wonderful it is that here, in this maṇḍapa, hosts of Koṅga-Vīras, highly excited under religious fervour, cut off their heads and tongues as (votive) offerings (to god) and attain instantaneously a brilliant body of blessed limbs. The next moment they shine with three eyes, ten arms, five faces and five tongues and become (in this way) the eight-bodied (Śiva) himself."[43] A memorial slab carved on granite on the slope of the hill behind the Kṛṣṇa temple at Hampi is a living representation of the system of Siḍitale. How this actually worked is known from a graphic description of the mechanism given by Dr. M.S.Nagarāja Rao. The memorial slab has three registers depicting three scenes. The lowest panel depicts the hero, ready to snap his head with a sword, to please the god, or offering his head to god, when the hero's wish has been fulfilled. In this there is a mechanical contraption, like a lever, secured to a post with a rope on the left. This is being done by an attendant. The hero has pulled the lever down and holds it in position, with his left hand. The head is tied to the lever securely and in his right hand is a sword to be positioned near his neck. When he releases his left hand, the lever would jump up and the sword would sever his head from his body. The head would be hanging on to the lever. In this instance, the hero is shown ready to release his left hand. His two wives have already committed Sati, and therefore they are shown fully bedecked with all the auspicious symbols, and with their right palms raised.

In the second register, we see the hero, along with his two wives, journeying to Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva. They are all in añjalimudra. In the top register, we see Śiva, represented by Liṅga and couchant Naṅdi in front, being worshipped by a bearded Śaiva priest. The crescent moon and sun flank the liṅga, as eternal witnesses to the pious and heroic act.[44]

The spread of Vīra Śaivism in the thirteenth century which was a 'militant religion' by nature was responsible for the popularisation of this rite. The story of Ēkānta Rāmayya cutting, to prove the superiority of his faith, his own head, and regaining it with the grace of Lord Śiva, is well known.[45] The construction of a pavilion by Anavēma Reḍḍi for the convenience of those who immolated themselves at Śrīśailam, a prominent centre of Vīra Śaivism, shows that self-immolation was particularly favoured by the Vīra Śaivas.

In fact, some of the Śaiva communities like Vīramuṣṭis and Mailāra Vīrabhatas were great practitioners of these grisly rites. The Vīramuṣṭis figure as the followers of the Vīra Śaiva teachers, the Bhikṣāvṛittis, who corresponded to the Vīrabhadra Kāyakams of the Kanarese Liṅgāyats. "Like whom they dress up and adorn themselves with small liṅgas, the

figure of Vīrabhadra, a sword, a plate bearing a star, and the heads of Asuras." Every important Saivite temple has one or two Vīramuṣṭis attached to it, and they are supposed to be servants of God Siva. One of their chief duties is to guard the idol during processions, and on other occasions. If, during a car procession, the car does not move, the Vīramuṣṭis cut themselves with their swords until it is set in motion.[46] Mailāra Vīrabhatas or the servants of the God Mailāra, who is an associate of Bahirava, performed wonderful feats expressive of their devotion to God. Piercing the iron hook of a long spike through the skin covering the breast bone, they used to swing round a pole in mid-air. They walked across pits of blazing coals and, cutting off the cords of the fibrous net-work sling or utti from which they were hanging in the air, threw themselves down into pits wherein were plated sharp iron spikes. They swallowed an iron tube or ayōnāḷamu applying Gaṇḍa Kattera to the neck without any fear. Piercing nārasas or sharp thin pinlike iron-pieces into the different parts of the body like chest, lips, tongues, etc., used to light aratulu in the naked palms of their right and left hands and offered them to their God, Mailāra.[47]

Another mode of self-immolation was to throw one self under the wheels of a chariot carrying utsavamūrti or processional image and get crushed to death. Nicolo de Conti gives the following information: "In Bizenegalia also, at a certain time of the year their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women, richly adorned, who sing hymns to the God, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many carried away by the fervour of their faith cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death--a mode of death considered very acceptable to their God."[48]

Sati

Sati or the practice of widows burning themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands was a kind of self-immolation with a different objective and performed only by women. Inscriptional evidence points to the popularity of this custom.[49] Pregnant women or mothers of young children do not seem to have performed Sati. For, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1376, the junior wife of Bēci Gauḍa, by name Muddi Gauṇḍi, performed Sati on her husband's death. It would be interesting to know why the elder wife had not performed Sahagamana. Perhaps she was either pregnant or a mother of young children.[50] The motive force behind the popularity of this custom was the attainment of Mōkṣa, Svarga and Vaikuṇṭha. The epigraphs recording the performance of Sati state that the woman who performed Sati along with her

husband obtained Mukti, or attained Vaikuṇṭha, or gained the world of Gods, or took Svarga by force, or united to the feet of Gods. Thus great merit accrued to the departed souls, and the woman who sacrificed her life became a Sati or Mahā Sati. Thus belief in the attainment of Mōkṣa through Sati was the main cause of the popularity of this custom. Saṅkha and Aṅgīras promise a Sati her reward in the words. "She who follows her husband in death dwells in heaven for as many years as there are hair on the human body, viz., 3 1/2 crores of years. In heaven she, being solely devoted to her husband and praised by bevies of heavenly damsels, sports with her husband for as long as fourteen Indras' rule."[51]

We have information about Sati rites in contemporary foreign accounts which give details about the custom. Barbosa has left a detailed account of Sati in Vijayanagara in the first half of the 16th century, which may be summarised as follows: The practice of burning themselves with the corpse of their husbands is an ancient custom. In case a woman is poor, she throws herself into the same fire where her husband is burning, of her own accord. But for a woman of wealth and rank the procedure is different. Soon after her husband's body is burnt, a banquet accompanied by music, singing and dancing is arranged in honour of the deceased where all the kith and kin join her. Richly jewelled, she goes about the city on the back of a horse and when she returns to the burning ground, a great fire is prepared on the edge of the pit, where her husband was burnt. Ascending the few steps of the wooden scaffold specially erected for the purpose she distributes her jewellery to her relatives as well as friends, makes a speech explaining the significance of Sati, throws pitcher of oil into the fire and plunges herself after it.[52]

According to Nuniz the widow caried a mirror in one hand and in the other a bunch of flowers.[53] Caesar Frederick, another eye-witness of Sati, says "she carrieth in her left hand a looking glass, and in her right hand an arrow".[54] Caesar Frederick's 'arrow' most probably signified the memento of the departed lord. Women used to burn themselves with some token of their husbands like shoes in case their death and cremation occurred in a far- off land.

Nicolo Conti (1420 or 1421 A.D.) wirtes thus: "The inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their dead husbands. Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself 12,000 wives of whom 4,000 follow him on foot wherever he may go, and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horse-back. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they should voluntari-

ly burn themselves with him, which is considered to be a great honour for them."[55]

Barradas who was an eye-witness of this custom says that when Veṅkaṭapati Rāya I died, "his. body was burned in his own garden with sweet scented woods, sandal, aloes and such like, and immediately afterwards three queens burned themselves."[56]

All the writers agree that the performance of Sati was not at all obligatory. Barbosa says, "She does and says so firmly, and with such a cheerful countenance, that she seems not about to die," "she throws herself of her own free will into the midst of the said fires and, being free to act, yet burn themselves alive for the love of them" (their husbands). Caesar Fredrick says that the widow prepared herself for the sacrifice as happily as brides in Venice prepared for their nuptials.[57] Among the Liṅgāyats or the Vīra Śaivas, who did not burn their dead but buried them, the woman wishing to commit Sati was entombed along with her husband. An epigraph dated A.D. 1509 states that when Harur Gauḍa's son, Bomma Gauḍa, went to Svarga, his wife Bommi Gauḍa sitting in the tomb went to Svarga.[58] Nuniz says, "These go with much pleasure to the pit, inside of which are made two seats of earth, one for him and one for her, and they place each one on his own seat and cover them little by little till they are covered up and so the wife dies with the husband."[59] According to Barbosa this custom obtained among those people who wore the Tambarane round their necks.[60] It is relevant to note in this connection that notwithstanding the fact that as a result of the reformist movement launched by Basava to permit widow remarriage, the custom of Sati continued to be observed by the Vīra Śaivas. According to a record dated A.D. 1422 when Bullidēva, the ācārya of the Siddhēśvara and Pañcēśvara temples at Kudigere and a master of the Parama Śiva Āgamikas, went to the world of Gods, his three wives gave his body to the tomb.[61] Since the practice of burying the dead was a particularly Vīra Śaiva practice and since there is no reference in the above record to the three wives of the deceased committing Sati, it may be inferred that the custom of Sati among the Vīra Śaivas was not universally prevalent.

The performance of Sati was glorified by the erection of what are known as Satikals or Mastikals (Mahā-sati-kals). A group of Sati memorials are found on the western side of the main road to Hampi and outside the Uddhāna Vīrabhadra temple near Kṛṣṇāpuram. They are generally sculptured with a pointed pillar or post, from which is shown a woman"s right arm bent upwards at the elbow.[62] The other variety of Sati stone is a Sati cum Vīrakal. The Vīrakal set up in honour of the fallen hero contained sculptural representation of his wife or wives

who committed Sati.[63]

There are three panels in a stone. In the lower panel the departed hero with his wife or wives is represented in a worshipping attitude with folded hands. The wives who committed Sati on his death are shown with the right arm and hand raised in the above mentioned manner.The upper panel contains a representation of a liṅga on a Yōnipīṭha and a figure of the bull or Naṅdi. This indicates the Saiva persuasion of the departed hero. In some Vīrakals, the husband and wife are represented sitting before Śivaliṅga and Naṅdi while in another the hero offers flower garlands to the liṅga.

An interesting Sati memorial is situated in front of the so-called Jaina temple between Hampi and Viṭṭhala temple. In the lower panel is shown the hero and his two wives who committed Sati on his death. The interesting feature of the panel is that the hero's elephant with an attendant is also represented. This shows that the hero was a person of high rank. In the top panel, the hero and his two wives are shown to have reached Vaikuṇṭha, the abode of Lord Viṣṇu. This is inferrable from the representation of the conch and discus the symbols of Viṣṇu as being adored by Hanumān and Garuḍa. The hero and his wives face these emblems and figure with folded hands.[64]

Self-turture (Hook Swinging)

Nicolo Conti,who was an eye-witness to the practice of self-tortutre resorted to by some devotees to please their gods,writes, "Others, making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot like an ornament, and thus suspended and half-dead accompany their idol. This kind of sacrifice they consider the best and most acceptable of all."[65]

Barbosa, who was an eye-witness to a hook-swinging ceremony,says, "The women of this land are so bold in their idolatry, and do such marvels for the love of their gods, that it is a terrible thing -- if any young maiden would marry a youth on whom she has set her fancy, she made a vow to her god that if he will arrange for her marriage, she will do him a great service before giving herself to her husband. If her wish is fulfilled, and she obtains him for her husband, she tells him that before giving herself to him she must offer sacrifice to such and such a god, to whom she has promised to make an offering of her blood. Then, appointing a certain day for the ceremony,they take a great ox- cart and set up therein a great water-lift like those used in Castille for drawing water from wells at the end of which hang two very sharp iron hooks. She goes forth on the appointed day in the company of her relations and friends, men and

women, with much music played and sung, also dancers and tumblers. She is naked from the waist up and wears cotton garments below. When she arrives at the gate where the cart stands ready, they let down (the long arm of) the lift, and push the hook into her loins, through skin and flesh. Then, they put a 'small dagger' into her left hand, and from the other end cause (the arm of) the lift to rise with much outcry and shouting from the people. She remains hanging from the lift, with the blood running down her legs, but shows no signs of pain, nay, she waves her dagger most joyfully, throwing lemons at her husband. In this manner they conduct her to the temple wherein is the idol to whom she has vowed such a sacrifice, on arrving at the gate whereof, they take her down and attend to her wounds and make her over to her husband, while she, according to her station in life, gives great gifts and alms, to the Brahmans and idols and food in abundance to all who have accompanied her." [66]

Finger Offering

The practice of cutting the last joint of the forefinger as an offering to Lord Śiva prevailed among the people. An inscription of about the fourteenth century found in the Kālabhairava temple at Siti refers to this practice. The story related regarding the origin of this practice is as follows: Bhasmāsura asked a boon from Lord Śiva to the effect that anybody on whose head he placed his hand should be reduced to ashes. On receiving the boon Bhasmāsura tried to test the efficacy of the boon on Śiva himself. Śiva in fear of being destroyed by the asura ran for his life with the latter in hot pursuit. At last when Śiva came to the hermitage of Gautama near Siti, Gautama advised Śiva to hide in a cave. Bhasmāsura on reaching the spot lost track of Siva,and enquired from a cultivator working in a nearby field about the whereabouts of the God. Whereupon the cultivator pointed to the hill where Śiva was hiding with his forefinger. However, Bhasmāsura was intercepted from approaching the hill by Viṣṇu who came in the form of a beautiful damsel called Mōhinī and brought about his destruction.

When Viṣṇu related the story of how Bhasmāsura was killed in his avatār of Mōhinī, Śiva,whose curiosity was excited to see Mohīnī, asked Viṣṇu to reveal his Mōhinirūpa. When Mōhini emerged, Śiva fell in love with her which consummated in the birth of Kālabhairava.

Kālabhairava was directed by Śiva to occupy the Siti hill.The cultivator who disclosed Śiva's where abouts with his forefinger to Bhasmāsura was by Śiva condemned with his descendants to offer the last joint of the offending forefinger to Kālabhairava as an offering. In accordance with Śiva's command it became customary among the cultivat-

ing classes such as Morasu Vokkaḷigas, Reḍḍis, etc., to cut off the last joint of the fore finger and offer it to Kālabhairava. But as the cultivator found it difficult to discharge his duties with the amputation of the forefinger, subsequently an arrangement was made to give two fingers--the little finger and the ring finger of the females in place of one finger of males. The cultivators who follow this custom are known as the finger-giving classes. The inscription informs us that a regular staff was maintained in the temple to cut off the finger, dress the wound without much loss of blood. The devotees are expected not only to bring a certain amount of food per head, but also to pay a fixed amount of money for using the services of the staff. The proceeds were divided among the priest and other servants of the temple.[67]

But this practice does not seem to be wholly confined to the cultivating classes. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King ,Amōghavarsa I, according to his Sañjan plates, was a devotee of the goddess Mahālakṣhmī and offered one of the fingers of his left hand to that goddess in order to ward off a public calamity.[68] The story of Śiva and Bhasmāsura cited above does not apply to the case of Amōghavarṣa's offering of his finger to the goddess Lakṣmī.

Hero Worship

Heroes of the period who sacrificed their lives to their Gods were revered as saints. Even the Brahman and the cow, the objects of veneration for the Hindus,were considered to be fit objects for the sacrifice of one's life in their protection or liberation.[69] The heroic deeds of these martyrs were commemorated by the erection of hero-stones or Vīrakals. These stones were set up either by their master or by their near relations or by the public. The Vīrakals were set up with great enthusiasm by the people amidst song and music. According to a record dated A.D.1428, a certain Dēvappa, son of Mancegauda,died in a fight. The residents of the Kukku village installed a Vīrakal amidst sacrifice, songs, beating of drums before an assemblage of the people in accordance with Dharma.[70]

The people in whose memory stones were set up may be divided into three classes: warriors who died on the battle-field or in fighting cattle thieves, people who immolated themselves for the protection of property and rights of a temple, people who killed themselves or offered some limb of their body in fulfilment of a vow or to attain some sacred object. In A.D. 1365 a certain Nāyaka,described as champion over the braves,fell fighting in Birammale and Cikka Nāyaka set up a Vīrakal in his memory.[71]

In A.D. 1344 a Vīrakal was installed in honour of certain Gauḍas of Capparadahalli who fell fighting in the service of Hariyappa voḍeyar.[72] In A.D. 1337 a Vīrakal was set up in memory of Varadan who died fighting against a cattle lifter by name Grāmarasar.[73] During the reign of Narasa Nāyaka, Kōnēṭi Rāja, the governor of Trichinopoly, misappropriated the properties of the Śrīraṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam and oppressed the people attached to the temple. So unable to bear the tyranny of Kōnēṭi Rāja two Jīyars and some Ekāngis of the Śrīraṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam ascended the eastern gopura of the Akalangan enclosure and threw themselves down from there. Thus they sacrificed their lives as a protest against the rule of Kōnēṭi Rāja.[74] In commemoration of these heroes who sacrificed their lives to safeguard the interests of the temple, Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyangar setup hero stones recording their heroic deeds, and bearing sculptural representations of them.[75]

Vīrakals belonging to the third category are found in the Tripura Suṅdarī temple at Tripurāntakam. "In the Tripura Suṅdarī temple are arranged in a line a number of Vīrakals representing human figures in various postures-some with a dagger thrust into their neck or abdomen and some driving their daggers into the left thigh with one hand, and raising a weapon with the other in order to stab themselves in the chest. One peculiar feature of some of these figures is the long braided hair which is gracefully allowed to hang right up to the knee. People believe these to be representations of bangle merchants who used to be at one time swallowed by the goddess as they passed by her shrine."[76] An inscription on one of the Vīrakals at the same place belonging to the 13th Century runs: "Hail! The glorious, Sōmasiva gurudēva offered to Tripuradēvī his (own) head, so that good may befall to the hero called Alla (ḍḍa) - Vīramalla." Another record ends with the words, (this is)"the head to the goddess." Commenting on this record, the Government Epigraphist says, "It looks as if these figures were meant to represent cases of either suicide or human sacrifice to which people in those days must have had free recourse, in the belief that by so propitiating the deity they would ward off any evil."[77] But these were not cases of either suicide or human sacrifice. These Vīrakals are really memorial stones set up in memory of persons who killed themselves either in fulfilment of vows taken by them or to attain some object. Otherwise their memory would not have been perpetuated by the people through the setting up of Vīrakals. The families of the heroes who thus sacrificed their lives were rewarded with grants to their families of land and cash payments. These vṛittis were called Ratta-kudangai or the allowance given for shedding blood. In A.D. 1369 a village called Siru Nallālam was granted as a Ratta-Kudangai to Vajinjan who scaled the fort and died in the fight. This grant was

made by Sūḍaiya and Poḷu, servants of Ilakkappar, thespittooncarrier of King Kaṁpaṇa. In addition to this, people of the Nāgalatoṭṭi caste in Periya Śattvāram and Puvatoṭṭi and other castes of Piḷaguvalli contributed one paṇam for every village.[78] These hero stones were worshipped with devotion and this was developed into a cult by the fourteenth century. Special shrines were built for heroes or Virapuruṣulu. In A.D.1406 one Ōjakka built a shrine for heroes.[79] In A.D. 1424 a certain merchant built the temple for Vīrakōṭi at Kārempūḍi.[80] The heroic deed of the Palnāṭi Vīrulu or the chiefs of Palnāḍ who perished in the fratricidal war known as the battle of Palnāḍ became the theme of a ballad sung by itinerant bards.[81]

Festivals

Festivals played an important part in the religious life of the Vijayanagara empire. They were celebrated by members of all the four Varṇas with much fervour, devotion and gaiety. Besides affording the necessary periodical escape from the hard realities of life, these festivals, in so far as they were celebrated in commemoration of the triumph of good over evil through divine intervention, served to remind man of the great debt he owed to the Almighty. They also gave a tremendous impetus to the growth of trade and industry.

While some of the festivals were commonly celebrated by members of all the communities, there were some which were considered particularly sacred by the Śaivaites or Vaiṣṇavaites. Another category of festivals were associated with the temples.

Śivarātri

As at present, the Śivarātri was by far the most important of the Śaiva festivals. Coming in the month of Māgha, it was, as it still is, a popular festival particularly sacred to Śiva.

Śrīnātha's Śivarātri Mahātmyam was mainly intended to bring out the significance of Śivarātri.[82] The theme is based on the story of a Brahman youth, the son of a minister to King Hēmāngada, the ruler of Ratnapuri. The Brahman lad called Sukumāra got addicted to wine and women at an early age and indulged in all sorts of vices. When people were vexed with his behaviour they reported the matter to the ruler of the country who banished him from his kingdom.

Sukumāra during his peregrinations reached the Heuṇa Maṇḍala. His banishment did not bring any change in his mental attitude and he developed illicit relations with a low class woman or Caṇḍālika. He gave himself to the care of that low caste woman eating flesh cooked by her

and finally eloped with her to another country. Sukumāra begot four children by her and after her death violated the chastity of his own daughters. By them he begot two sons.

One day he went to the Śiva temple to steal some flowers from the garden for the use of his daughters. As he entered the temple he had the Darsan of Lord Śiva and found that the God was decorated with beautiful flowers. It was the day of Śivarātri and devotees assembled in the temple that night. They spent the sacred night in the exposition of Śiva Purānas, recitation of Pañcākṣarī Mantras, doing Prāṇāyāma, preparing bhasma and conducting literary discussions and seminars. Thus the devotees kept holy vigil. Sukumāra waiting for an opportunity to steal the flowers witnessed all this till midnight and returned home. From that day onwards he gave up his evil ways and adopted a pious way of life. Ultimately when he died he attained Śiva Lōka. Though he committed all kinds of unpardonable sins, due to the single act of observing Śivarātri he went to Kailāsa.

A similar story is related by Śrīnātha in his Kāśī Khaṇḍam with the only difference that Guṇanidhi, the Brahman hero, was killed by the archers while fleeing from the Śiva temple with the naivēdya offered to Śambhu on the Śivarātri day. Guṇanidhi also ascended Śivalōka in the Divya Vimāna which was specially sent for him. For worshipping him on the Śivarātri day, Lord Śiva granted him a second life as the son of the king of Kaliṅga.[83]

Basavapurāṇam refers to a similar story taken from Skanda and Liṅga Purānas regarding the significance of Śivarātri.[84] On the Śivarātri day a fast was observed by the people and the whole night was spent in keeping holy vigil. The Tithitattva holds that a fast was the principal thing in Śivarātrivrata.[85] Mādhava, supporting Hēmādri, holds that fast, worship and Jāgaraṇa are equally important. "That man who observes a fast on Śivarātri for twelve years and who keeps awake (in dance and music) before Śiva the whole night would reach heaven. That man, who worships Śiva and performs Jāgāra on the 14th, would not thereafter taste milk at mother's breast (i.e., would not be born again); the niṣāda, unknowingly worshipping a self-existant liṅga, observing a fast and jāgaraṇa became free from sin and attained the position of the attendant of Śiva.[86] On the 9th tithi in the evening, the performer should bathe with ashes on his forehead and holding a rosary or rudrākṣa (Elacocarpus Ganitrus) should go to the Śiva temple at night-fall. He should wash his feet and make the Saṅkalpa. Then the sage (Vāmadēva) of the Śiva mantra of five letters (Śivāyanamaḥ), the metre (Anuṣṭup) and the Dēvata (Sadāśiva) are to be invoked by the devotee. Then he should perform the sixteen

upacaras to the Śivaliṅga. Śiva should be given an abhiṣēka with water mixed with sandalwood, saffron and camphor to the accompaniment of Rudra maṁtras and Puruṣasūkta. Then the performer should make tarpaṇa with water mixed with akṣatas for Śivainvoking the eight names of Śiva.This is followed by the offering of 1008 or 108 bilva leaves to the chanting of the thousand names of Śiva or with mūlamaṁtra. After the offering of naivēdya, ācamana, phala, tāmbūla, and ārati should be conducted to the Liṅga. Then maṁtrapuṣpa should be offered with the maṁtra Om Namaḥ Śivaya followed by the offering of eight namaskāras to the eight names of Bhava,etc. Then the performer should offer twelve añ jalis of flowers with the twelve names, perform pradakṣina repeating the mūlamaṁtra 108 times. On the occasions mentioned earlier the mūlamaṁtra should be recited.[87] Devotees who assembled in the Śiva temple spent the night in listening to the stories of Śiva, reciting Pañcakṣari, and Pañca Brahma maṁtras, doing Prāṇāyāma, going round the temple or performing Pradakṣina, preparing vibhūti, conducting literary contests or Aṣṭāvadhānam, playing musical instruments, singing and dancing, witnessing cock fights and ram fights, etc.[88] The temple was decorated on the Śivarātri day with garlands of leaves made of copper, trunks of plaintain tree,etc.[89] On the Śivarātri day people from all parts of the empire went in large numbers on pilgrimage to celebrated Śaiva centres like Śrīśailam, Kāḷahasti and Cidaṁbaram. It was customary for kings and people alike to bestow gifts on the occasion.[90] In A.D. 1404 King Harihara got the mukhamaṇḍapa in the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam constructed on the holy Śivarātri.[91] On the occasion of Śivarātri Vīra Narasiṁha granted the village of Kaigoṇḍapalli to Nannjehebbaruva of Atri Gōtra and Sāma Śākha.[92] In A.D. 1510 Kṛṣṇarāya made a gift of the village Malukana to the Mallēśvara temple at Koka for his welfare on the auspicious occasion of Śivarātri.[93]

Navarātri

The Navarātri was a major festival that evoked great popular and royal interest. As the name itself indicates, it was a nine-day festival. It was celebrated in honour of goddess Durgā.[94] Commencing from Āśvayuja Suddha Pāḍyami, the festival lasted nine days and the tenth day was celebrated as Vijaya Dasami.

The Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa contains a detailed account of the festival explaining its mythological significance,[95] according to which Dēvī or Mahāmāya assumed nine Avatārs or incarnations and in each incarnation she performed a daring act which greatly benefited men as well as gods. The celebrations during the nine days of the festival were in commemoration of the Dēvī's different victories over evil forces afflicting

mankind.[96]

This festival gained great popularity in the Vijayanagara empire and was celebrated by the king and his courtiers with much pomp and pageantry.

Worship of the Dēvī during this nine-day festival was of three kinds--Sātvika, Rājasa and Tāmasa. The Sātvika was performed with Japa, Mantra and rice offerings; the Rājasa required animal sacrifices; the Tāmasa was performed with offerings, exclusively of liquor and flesh, without any Mantra. The second, the Rājasa form,appears to have been the most widely prevalent judging from the manner it was performed, as given by foreign travellers.

Paes gives an elaborate account of the spectacular manner in which the festival was celebrated in Vijayanagara.[97] On the first day the celebrations commenced with the installation of the Kalasa or the idol as Paes calls it. The Kalasa, made of gold and embowered in roses, was placed on the richly ornamented throne, standing on a dias in the House of Victory within the Palace enclosure. The throne was supported by lions of gold representing the Vāhana of Durgā. Worship, to the accompaniment of dance and music, was offered to this Kalasa on all the nine days by the King attended by Brahmans. He also worshipped eleven horses and four elephants, all beautiful and richly caparisoned. This was in accordance with the injunction of Hēmādri who ordains that the king should worship the state umbrella, horse,flag-staff, elephant, sword, drum, cloth, fan and throne. Then came the sacrificial salughter of twenty-four buffaloes and one hundred and fifty sheep. The king was then blessed with roses by Brahmans. The ceremonies, during worship, included Homa or the lighting of the sacred fire into which the king threw a consecrated powder made of precious stones and a variety of aromatics.

The most fascinating part of the celebrations was the display of their skill by professional dancers and musicians, wrestlers and acrobats, poets and pandits. The dancing damsels, dressed in fine silks, richly embroidered, and decked with ornaments made of gold inlaid with precious stones,impressed the on-lookers as the mobile and reflective symbols of the immense wealth of the empire. The other performers, like the wrestlers and the acrobats, were all experts in their respective arts and presented a breath taking display of their skills. All these splendid performances constituted the afternoon programme of each day.

As the night approached, innumerable torches were lit which illuminated the whole scene and rendered it as bright as noon. The arena

was once more lively with the introduction of many interesting amusements. There was a parade before the king in the fashion of a march-past. A tableau in the parade consisted of men on horse-back engaged in a mock battle; "these horses are like the hobby horses made in Portugal for the feast of the Carpo de Dios; others come with casting nets, fishing and capturing the men that are in the arena." "At the end of the amusements were many rockets and many different sorts of fires, also castles that burn and fling out from themselves many bombs and rockets."

Amusements over, there was a march-past of the triumphal cars belonging to the captains, covered with fine silks exquistely embroidered in intricate patterns. Then came a display of horses covered with cloth of very fine stuff of the king's colours, with floral decorations on their heads and led by the state horse. The state horse was decorated more elegantly than the others and carried two state umbrellas. After parading them round the arena twice, the horses were arranged in five or six lines with the state horse in the leading position and all facing the king. Then the high priest of the king offered them worship with a bowl of coconut, rice and flowers. The Brahmans following him carried a pot of water in their hands.

Then sixty women, fair and young, dressed in fine silks and wearing priceless jewels, moved forward carrying in their hands vessels of gold containing lighted lamps.

After the women retired, the king offered his final prayers to the idol followed by the sacrifice of the large number of buffaloes and sheep. Then the king would have his super for he fasted on all the nine days and ate only at midnight.

This procedure was followed on all the days of the Navarātri Festival. According to Paes, the festival was closed with the slaughter of two hundred and fifty buffaloes and four thousand five hundred sheep.

At the end of the nine-day festival, the king held a review of all his armed forces in the presence of the presiding deity of the Navarātri. The military personnel of the king headed by their captains, clad in rich clothes, arrayed themselves according to their ranks. The king reviewed the troops on his state horse accompanied by attendants carrying two umbrellas of state gilded and covered with crimson velvet. In front of the king marched many caparisoned elephants and horses. Important of all, the idol which was worshipped during the Navarātri was carried in a very large cage, close to the king. It was a splendid spectacle and Paes exclaimed, "Truly, I was so carried out with myself that it seemed as if what I saw was a vision, and that I was in a dream."[98]

The review of the troops was conducted on Vijaya Desami, the day immediately following the ninth day of the festival. According to tradition Rāma started on his victorious expedition against Rāvaṇa on Vijaya Dasami. Another connects the Mahābhārata war with the Vijaya Dasami. It says that the Pāṇḍavas,before proceeding to the capital of Virāṭa to live in disguise, hid their weapons on the Sami tree. Afterwards Arjuna worshipped the Sami tree, on Vijaya Dasami day, received his weapons and defeated the Kauravas with the help of those arms.[99] Whatever may be the veracity of these stories, Vijaya Dasami was essentially a Kṣatriya festival and the kings considered it very auspicious to review on that day their army, keep it ready to counter any war threat and reorganise the war machinery. From the point of view of external environment also the Asvayuja month was the best part of the year for military operations. There was plenty of water around for the army, the rivers maintained a moderate flow and were fordable. The roads were dry and afforded easy passage. Thus Vijaya Dasami was best suited for the expeditions of the kings.

The crossing of the boundaries of the capital by the royal troops heralded the movement of troops against the enemy country.

This is supported by the statement of Nuniz that the king moved with his troops to the outskirts of the capital and taking a bow in his hand shot three arrows, namely,one for the Ydallcao, and another for the king of Cotamuloco (the Qutb Shah of Golconda) and yet another for the Portugese; it was his custom to make war on the kingdom lying in the direction where the arrow reached farthest.[100]

Thus the Mahānavami festival had a great political significance too.

Vasantōtsava

The Vasantōtsava or Spring Carnival, one of the major festivals in Vijayanagara,was conducted annually with great enthusiam.[101] At the approach of the Vernal Equinox, the festival was celebrated in the name of Kāma or Madana, the God of Love and His associate Vasanta.[102] The religious significance of the festival, according to Hēmādri,is as follows: Pārvatī grew restless over the prolonged Samādhi of her Lord Siva who, immediately after their marriage, assumed the Pāsupata Vrata and absorbed himself in Yōga. She entreated Indra to come to her aid and he sent Manmatha, Rati and Vasanta to obstruct Siva's penance and make him obey the dictates of Natural Law. Very soon this trio started their game of disturbing Siva. Slightly disturbed, the Lord opened his eyes and found Manmatha,with his bow made of sugar-cane stalk and fitted with Puṣpaka Bāṇa, taking aim. Enraged at this the Lord opened his

third eye from which emanated deadly fire which reduced Manmatha to ashes. Rati, Madana's consort, was plunged into great grief. Feeling that she was responsible for the catastrophe, Pārvatī appealed to Śiva and convinced him that Madana acted only as her agent. Indra and other Dēvas also pleaded Śiva for mercy. Appeased and moved, Śiva revived Madana on the condition that only on one day in the year (the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra) he would assume the bodily form and that for the rest of the year remain without any physical form.[103] Thus the Vasanta Festival commemorates the resurrection of Madana. The festive occasion also afforded an opportunity for poets and pandits, dancers and musicians, jesters and acrobats, to display their respective skills and receive royal patronage. Poet Timmana addressed Kṛṣṇadēvarāya as one who hears the discourses of the poets on the annual Vasanta festival with hair on the body erect.[104] It was on this occasion that the dramas were put on boards to win royal patronage and approbation of the public. For example, Jāmbavati Kalyāṇam composed by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was enacted before the king and a large number of people assembled to witness the spring festival. From the contemporary works we gather the following account of the spring festival as celebrated by the Vijayanagara kings. The ministers of State looked to the arrangements of the festival. An elegantly and elaborately decorated pavilion with golden arches in which were set up a number of altars decorated with precious stones, on which were placed the images of Kāma, Vasanta and others. Various designs were drawn with camphor on the floor of the Vēdi and beautified with pūrṇakalaśas or vessels filled with water. Then the king, seated on the back of his state horse in great splendour, followed by his army, poets, musicians, dancers, jesters, knights and other retinue, marched out to the accompaniment of music. The king's procession after crossing the city gate reached a nearby garden. While the king was enjoying a stroll, in the garden, his vidūṣaka composed a verse on a mango leaf saying that the possession of rasāla or sweet mango tree helped to conquer Kāma, the God of Love. Then the king was regaled by jesters and poets for some time. Meanwhile some of the damsels in the party indulged in sport, with their lovers playing hide and seek, etc., among the flower plants singing songs in joy, while some others prepared flower garlands and presented them to the king. This was followed by the presentation of tributes by his sāmantas and maṇḍalikas. The tributes consisted of girls, horses, precious stones, and other jewels. Then his minister introduced different chiefs and nobles to the king about whose welfare the king enquired. Then the king in the company of young damsels entered the pavilion where the deities were installed and worshipped: Madana, and his spouse Rati, his associate Vasanta, Lakṣmī and her husband Upēndra, Gaurī and her Lord Śiva and Śaci and her husband

Surēndra. While the worship was being conducted, Pañca mahāśabdás or the five great musical instruments were played in tune with the dance of the lovely maidens. At the end of this function the king sported with beautiful damsels sprinkling camphor, sandal paste and other perfumed articles. All his subjects assembled followed him and played Vasantōtsavam. Then the king would sport with his ladies in a lotus tank. After finishing the bath, the king with his queens gave audience to his subjects in the same park under a tree.[105]

Hōli

The spring festival which commenced on the Vasanta Pañcami day in January ended with Hōli in March. The Hōli or Phalguṇa festival indeed was a very colourful festival. Nicolo de Conti, an eye-witness states that "they sprinkle all passers-by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron water, placed for that purpose by the way-side. This is received by all with much gaiety.[106] Pietro della Valle also bears evidence to this practice. He observes,"March the fifteenth was the first day of the feast of the Indian gentiles which they celebrate very solemnly at the entrance of the Spring with dancing through the street, and casting orange water and red colours in jest one upon the other, with other festivities of songs and mummeries."[107]

On this festive occasion people indulged in great revelry using free vocabulary on the occasion. Hālā's Gāthasaptasati, a very ancient Prākṛit work, says that casting of floor and even mud water was received in jest and good humour.[108]

Dīpāvaḷi

Another major festival that evoked great popular enthusiasm and attracted the attention of foreign travellers was the Dīpāvaḷi or festival of lights.[109] Conti observes that the people fix up within their temples and on the outside on the roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of Susimanni.[100] Paes states that at the beginning of the month of October, when eleven of its days are past, they make great feasts, during which every one puts on new, rich, and pretty clothes, each one according to his liking, and all the captains give their men beautiful clothes of many colours, each one having his own colour and device. They begin the year in this month with the new moon, and they count the months always from moon to moon.[111]

Dīpāvaḷi was celebrated on Āsvayuja Bahuḷa Caturdasi, Amāvāsya and Kārthīka Suddha Pāḍyami. The first day was Naraka Caturdasi, the second Dīpāvaḷi and the third Bali Pāḍyami.

Tradition differs about the significance of the festival. Four explanations are offered. According to one story Naraka, born to Bhūdēvī and Viṣṇu in his boar incarnation,was made the king of Kāmarūpa by Lord Viṣṇu. After some years of benevolent rule, Naraka came into contact with a wicked demon called Bāṇa and under his influence began to threaten the world with vicious deeds. In order to save the world from the hands of Naraka, Lord Viṣṇu as Kṛṣṇa proceeded to Kāmarūpa to kill him. Satyabhāma, the consort of Kṛṣṇa,also accompanied him. A fierce fight took place between them in which Naraka was finally destroyed.

The death of Naraka occurredon the night of Āsvayuja Kṛṣṇa Caturdasi. In commemoration of this, the people made festivities that night and the following day.[112]

Dīpāvaḷi was the day on which Lord Viṣṇu deprived King Bali of his empire and sent him to Pātāla.[113]

According to another tradition, Śrī Rāma after killing Rāvaṇa returned to Ayōdhya and met his brother Bharata on the Dīpāvaḷi day. It is also stated to be the day on which the famous King Vikramārka ascended the throne and the Vikrama Saka commenced from the day of his accession.

The festival,according to Ākāsa Bhairava Kalpa,was celebrated as follows: The king used to get up early on the morning of Āsvayuja Bahuḷa Caturdasi, had his bath with sandal paste and luke warm water while music was being played in the palace. Afterwards he held a Durbar,witnessed cultural performances, distributed gifts to all his people and had a sumptuous meal. At night he witnessed colourful fire works.[114]

All the Purānas, the Skanda and the Bhavisya reiterate that the lighting of lamps on the occasion of the Dīpāvaḷi prevented Yama, or the God of Death,from approaching mankind. Whoever refrained from lighting the lamps would not prosper and eternal darkness would reign in their houses. According to Nārada Purāṇa,the ancestors of those who lighted lamps were transported from Hell to Heaven.[115]

The importance given to the propitiation of Yama and the lighting of lamps in his honour indicates that it was essentially a festival seeking redemption from untimely death. The latter tradition probably personified the word Naraka or hell as a demon to rouse popular imagination.

Ratha Saptami

Ratha Saptami, celebrated on the solar day of the bright fortnight in the month of Māgha (January), was observed especially in honour of the Sun. On the Ratha Saptami day a lamp stand made of gold, silver, brass or iron should be carried by the devotee on the head to a river bank and after worshipping the Sun should be left in the river. This was immediately followed by ablutions.[116] It was also customary to offer gifts on the occasion. For example, in A.D. 1538 one of the Tirumala temple accountants deposited 700 nar-paṇam for the purpose of conducting Ratha Saptami festival in the Gōviṅdarājasvāmi temple at Tirupati. On the festival day an image of the deity was taken in procession through the street on the Sūryaprabha vāhanam.[117] On the Ratha Saptami day Cinna Timmayadēva Mahārāja, great grandson of Āraviṭi Bukkarāja, remitted certain taxes in favour of the Karaṇams of village Pinayammanūru, on the occasion of Ratha Saptami in A.D.1548.[118] In the same year Bukkaraju granted certain taxes to Cennakēsava of Mōyiḷḷaceruvu on the Ratha Saptami day.[119]

Saṅkrānti

This was another very important religious observance celebrated in honour of the Sun. Saṅkrānti signified the movementof the Sun from one rāsi to another and the rāsi in which the Sun enters is designated as the Saṅkrānti of that particular rāsi.[120] There are twelve Saṅkrāntis in proportion to the twelve rāsis. The Dēvī Purāṇa identified Saṅkrānti with goddess Durgā. It says that Dēvī was all-pervading and merged herself in small and large parts with the year, ayana, season, month, fortnight, day and the like.[121] Thus, great importance came to be attached to Saṅkrānti. The twelve Saṅkrāntis in the year are grouped into four classes, viz, Ayana Saṅkrāntis (Makara Saṅkrānti from which Uttarāyana starts and Karkāṭa Saṅkrānti from which Dakṣināyaṇa starts), Viṣuva Saṅkrāntis (Mēṣa and Tula Saṅkrāntis when the day and night are equal in length), Ṣaḍasīti or Ṣaḍasītimukha (i.e., Mithuna, Kanya, Dhanus and Mīna) and Viṣṇupada (i.e., Vṛṣabha, Siṁha, Vṛścika and Kumbha).[122] On the Saṅkrānti day, particularly on Makara Saṅkrānti day, a bath in a river was considered to be productive of great merit.[123] Tiladāna or the gift of sesamum was considered important on the Makara Saṅkrānti. Gift of garments was deemed equally important.[124] Fasting was also recommended for three days or atleast one day on the occasion of the Makara Saṅkrānti.[125] "A man who fasts for three days and after a bath offers worship to the Sun on ayana, on Viṣuva day, and on the eclipse of the Sun or the Moon secures the fulfilment of all his desires."

Kṛṣṇāṣṭami

or

(Śrījayanti)

Rāma and Kṛṣṇa were considered to be the incarnations of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa was the eighth avatāra of the Dasāvatāras.. Lord Kṛṣṇa was the most colourful personality representing Rājanīthi of a high order and philosophy as envisaged in Bhagavadgīta. It was but natural that people celebrated his birthday on Śrāvaṇa Bahuḷa Aṣṭami. Kṛṣṇa was born under the Rōhiṇi Star which enters on the Aṣṭami night. A fast was observed on the Aṣṭami morning and in the evening worship of Kṛṣṇa and festivities were conducted.

Whoever performed this Jayanti was redeemed of all his sins and attained glory. For celebrating this Jayanti, the Rōhiṇi Star was important and not the tithi. If two stars or Rōhiṇis occurred in a month, celebrating the Jayanti on the latter occasion fetched more results to the Upāsaka.[126]

In A.D. 1538 Vada Tiruveṅgaḍajiyyar, the Kōyil Kēḷvi, made a gift of 100 panam for celebrating the Śrī Jayanti festival. He particularly desired that the image of Kṛṣṇa should be represented as a child drinking milk from a conch placed at the mouth.[127] Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Timmarāja granted some tolls for offerings to the temple of Gōpināṭha Perumāḷ on the day of Kṛṣṇāṣṭami.[128] In A.D. 1550 Rāmaliṅga Nayinimgāru of Niṭṭūru made a gift of land to God Cennakēśava of Niṭṭūru on the occasion of Kṛṣṇa Jayanti. Again,in A.D. 1560 he granted some more lands to the same God on the same occasion. In A.D. 1555 the Kāpus (farmers) and the Karaṇams (accountants) of Niṭṭūru, Gollapalle and Vēmulapalle granted grain at the rate of one mānika for every tumu of the produce in the village to the Cennakēśava temple of Niṭṭūru. This gift was made on the Kṛṣṇa Jayanti day.[129]

Rāmanavami

Rāma considered as an incarnation of Viṣṇu was a high souled hero known for his pitruvākyaparipālana and many other commendable traits of character.[130] He won an abiding place in the hearts of the people who celebrated in his honour Rāma Navami on Caitra Suddha Navami.[131] A fast was observed on Navami and the night was spent in Jāgaraṇa in the Divine presence. On the Dasami day following Navami, after worshipping Rāma, the Brahmans were fed and liberal gifts were made to the devotees of Rāma. The gift of the image of Rāma was considered highly meritorious.

Rāma Navarātri or the nine days festival commenced from Caitra Suddha Pāḍyami. During these nine days, the devotees recited Rāmāyaṇa and on the Navami the chapter dealing with the birth of Rāma was recited. The coronation of Rāma was celebrated on Dasami.

The performance of vratas has always occupied an important place in the religious life of the people of this country. Contemporary literary records and epigraphs contain references to many vratas performed by the people during the period under review.

Ekādasi

The Ekādasi vrata was a very important one observed with great sincerity and devotion. It was of two kinds: Nitya and Kāmya. The Nityavrata was a life-long one, observed without any desired effect whereas the Kāmya vrata had as its aim a specific purpose. Nārada lays down the rule:"Men who are devoted to Viṣṇu and who look upon Viṣṇu as their highest goal should always fast on Ekādasi in each Pakṣa (fortnight)."[132] Mādhava in his Kālanirṇaya states that "a person who looks on Viṣṇu as the highest goal and who desires to cross the ocean of Saṁsāra or to secure prosperity, off-spring, heaven, mōkṣa or whatever else, should not partake of food on Ekādasi in both fortnights."[133] Thus Ekādasi is both Nitya and Kāmya. The contemporary Vaiṣṇava works prohibit the performance of Srāddha ceremony on Ekādasi day.If any body did he incurred the sin of killing his own parents. Persons other than householders performed the Ekādasi vrata on the Ekādasi of the bright half,[134] but not on the Ekādasi of the dark half. Hēmādri says,"One should not eat (cooked) food on Ekādasi in both Pakṣas (fortnights): this is the rule of conduct for forest hermits and ascetics, but a householder should always observe only the Ekādasi of the bright half."[135] Thus, for a householder a fast on the Ekādasi of the bright half is obligatory. But the Vaiṣṇava householders should fast even on Ekādasi of the dark half. The Purānas lavish praise on the efficacy of fasting on Ekādasi.[136]

The procedure of Ekādasi vrata is as follows: On the day previous to the fast, the Upāsaka after performing all his daily duties in the morning makes the Saṅkalpa referring to the 10th tithi on which he commences the vrata . At midday he should eat by the ēkabhukta[137] method: he should avoid meat,pulses, honey, gram, vegetables, oil, sesame, cakes, betal leaves,nuts,etc., he should not indulge in sensual pursuits. At night he should sleep on a bed spread on the ground. In the morning of Ekādasi he should use leaves of a tree for cleaning his teeth. After ablutions he must put on his finger a pavitra or loop made of darbha grass and turning to the north with a copper vessel containing water perform Saṅkalpa saying,"After remaining without food on the Ekādasi I shall, O ,

Lotus eyed one, on the next day partake of cooked food: O, Acyuta, be you my refuge." Those people who cannot observe a total fast may subsist on water, or milk or on fruits according to their ability. According to the Nārada Purāṇa on the 10th,11th and 12th tithis, the performer of the vrata should give an Abhiṣēka with Pañcāmrita to a Viṣṇu image and worship Him with sandal paste, flowers,etc., and listen to the stories of Viṣṇu contained in the Purāṇas. On the 12th tithi he should feed Brahmans and give them gifts according to his ability.[138]

The twenty-four Ekādasis of the twelve months of the lunal year and the two Ekādasis of the intercalary month have separate names.[139] The twenty-four names beginning with Caitra Sukla Ekādasi and ending with Phalguṇa dark half are Kāmada, Varūdhini, Mōhini, Apara, Nirajala, Yōgini, Sayani, Kāmika, Putrada, Aja, Parivartini, Indira, Pāsānkusa, Rāmā, Prabōdhini or Bōdhini, Utpatti, Mōkṣada, Saphala, Putrada, Sattila, Jaya, Vijaya, Āmalaki and Pāpamōcani. Regarding the two Ekādasis in an intercalary month, Padmapurāṇa calls them Kamala and Kāmada.[140] Among the above mentioned Ekādasis, Sayani and Prabōdhini were important. Viṣṇu was supposed to sleep for four months from Aṣādha bright Ekādasi at night and to rise from his sleep on Kārtīka bright Ekādasi by day and hence two Ekādasis are, respectively called Sayani (sleeping) and Prabōdhini (Prabōdha, awakening).[141] The Sayana Ekādasi or the Prathama Ekādasi opens the Cāturmāsa. Mārgasira Suddha Ekādasi was the Vaikuṇṭha Ekādasi. It was believed that the thirty-three crores of Dēvatas would descend to earth from heaven on this day for worshipping Lord Viṣṇu. For allowing an entry of these Dēvatas, it was customary to keep the gate open on the northern side of the Viṣṇu temple. People entering by this gate had the darsan of the Lord. This was known as Vaikuṇṭha gate.[142]

Cāturmāsya Vrata.

This was very important vrata for the Vaiṣṇavas.[143] It was performed from Āṣādha Sukla Ekādasi or Dvādasi or Paurṇima and lasted till Kārtīka Sukla Ekādasi.[144] According to Vaiṣṇava tradition, Sūḍikuḍutta Nāciyār performed this vrata and composed one verse or Pāsuram every day in praise of Lord Viṣṇu.[145] The performer of the vrata had to give up vegetablesin Śrāvaṇa, curds in Bhādrapada, milk in Asvina, and pulses in Kārtīka.[146]

Dhanurmāsa

The observance of Dhanurmāsa was important for the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. All the thirty days of Māgha were treated as Dhanurmāsa. Every day the performer of the vrata should get up early in the morning, offer prayers

and naivēdya to Lord Viṣṇu. The Bhāgavata obtains great gifts by observing the vrata even on a single day. After worshipping the Lord in his house, the devotee should go to the temple of Hari, light lamps there and offer naivēdya with all kinds of spices. In A.D. 1534 Gōvindasāni, daughter of Pōlu Nāyakkam of Sajjarautu family, provided for thirty tirupōnakam on the thirty days of the month of Mārgali in the Gōvindarāja temple at Tirupati for Dhanurmāsa Pūja.[147] In A.D. 1535 Rāyasam Rāmacandra Dīkṣitar arranged for an offering in Nammāḷvar's shrine at Tirupati on the thirty days of Dhanurmāsa.[148] Iyal Prabhandham was recited in the Viṣṇu temples during the Dhanurmāsa.

Kārtīka Vrata

This was observed in the month of Kārtīka. During the entire month a person,after taking bath in a river, should perform the Gāyatri japa and partake only once in the day of sacrificial food or havisya. The lighting of lamps by the performer in the temples of Śiva, Caṇḍi, the Sun and other Gods is highly meritorious. Vanabhōjanam or taking meals in a garden was also considered meritorious.[149]

Sōmavāra Vrata

It was performed on the first Monday of either Śrāvaṇa, Vaiśākha, Kārtīka or Mārga. On the day of the vrata, Śiva was worshipped and total fast or Nakta was observed. Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa performed this vrata in A.D. 1356 and on the completion of it granted a large village to the Sōmanātha temple.[150]

Pilgrimages

One active form of religion during the period was pilgrimages or tīrthayātras to the holy shrines and places which have great sanctity and antiquity. Cidaṁbaram, Kaṁci, Śrīraṅgam, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai,Śrī Kāḷahasti, Virūpākṣa, Hari-Hara, Ahōbilam, Saṅgamam, Kuṁbhakonam, Mahānaṁdi,Śrīsailam, Śrīkūrmam, Tirumala, Gōkarṇam, Rāmēśvaram and Nivṛitti, became the centres of religious life of the people. It was considered meritorious to visit these holy places on festive occasions, lunar eclipses and other days of religious significance and make gifts to Gods and Brahmans.[151] Epigraphical records and literary works testify to the pilgrimages made by the kings and their subjects.[152] Kṛṣṇarāya visited Tirupati and installed bronze images of himself and his queen in the temple of Veṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala and thus expressed his eternal devotion to the Lord. At Kāḷahasti he granted precious jewels and ornaments to Lord Kāḷahastīśvara and constructed a choultry or satram. He paid his respect to Cokkanāthasvāmi and his spouse Mīnākṣī and presented ornaments to the Goddess. Being a Vaiṣṇava he did not forget

the goddess of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, Gōda or Śūḍikuḍutta Nāciyār. He donated for the construction of a maṇṭapa at Śrīvilliputtūr, the home of Gōda. He worshipped Kṣīravarṇasvāmi at Karuvanallūr. He bathed in the sacred waters of Nāgatīrtha and adored the Lord of the tīrtha, Saṅkaranārāyaṇa. He had a bath in the Spring of Serenity, Ākāsagaṅga, and worshipped in the Citrasabha. He ascended the Agastya hill and built a maṇṭapa in the Agastēyesvara temple. After visiting Gajēndramōkṣam he visited Lord Vēṇuvanēśvara at Śālivaṭapura. From there he went to Kurungōḍu and visited even Kanyākumāri. He also made pilgrimages to Kandukūr where he worshipped Vaḷḷi and Subrahmaṇyasvāmi, Ādisētu the home of Lord Raghunāyaka. He washed his sword at Dhanuṣkōṭi. He did not fail to visit other sacred shrines like Śrīraṅgam and Gōkarṇam. Kṛṣṇarāya bathed in the springs of Gōkarṇa and Maṅkana and gifted precious ornaments to the Goddess.[153]

The Puñ jai inscription of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya dated A.D. 1517 gives a list of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples at the different tīrthas in the Cōḷamaṇḍalam, to which Kṛṣṇadēvarāya is stated to have remitted 10,000 varāhan of gold pieces in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the Cōḷa country, while he was camping on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇavēṇī after his conquest of the Kaḷiṅga country. Since this grant was made on the occasion of the Makara Saṅkrānti, it is possible that the Rāya visited Bezwada (now Vijayawada), washed himself in the holy waters of the Kṛṣṇa river, and offered his prayers in the Anantaśayana temple at Uṇḍavalli and Lord Mallikārjuna at Bezwada.[154] It was customary to visit holy places on the parva days and perform piṇḍapradāna to the manes. For example, in A.D. 1347 King Mārapa visited Gōkarṇa, bathed in the sacred waters of the ocean at the time of the parva and offered piṇḍa to the manes. He also made gifts of land, cows, gold and virgins to the Brahmans.[155]

It was customary to make pilgrimages by proxy to the sacred shrines and tīrthas and offer piṇḍas to the manes. In A.D. 1500 Sugaṭūr Cikka Tammaya Gauḍa, elder sister Halasa- Rātama, sent her purohita Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Tirumala Sōmayāji to Dhanuṣkōṭi Tīrtha (Mulbagal taluq), known as Southern Gayā, to offer tilōdaka and piṇḍa to her ancestors at the feet of the Goddess Vana-dēvata. By the performance of this rite in the Dhanuṣkōṭi tīrtha, she secured the merit of offering piṇḍa in Kāśi, Prāyaga and Gayā as declared by Vālmīki.[156] The Gayā inscription of Acyutarāya indicates that Timmananṇa, who got the inscription inscribed in the name of Acyutarāya, visited Gayā and performed the piṇḍapradāna. The inscription states that the Vijayanagara rulers attained religious merit by the offering of the piṇḍas to the manes.[157]

People, when they made pilgrimages to the holy places,brought lingas and images of Gods from there and installed them in their towns and villages.[158] In those days travel was tedious and risky due to lack of proper travel facilities and hence pilgrimages were stories of mingled thrill and pleasure. Pilgrims generally travelled in groups for protection from robbers and wild animals. Āmuktamālyada and other literary works of the period describe the preliminary preparation and difficulties of those desirous of proceeding to the tīrthas on a pilgrimage.[159] Palanquins were used by nobles and high officials as means of conveyance. Viṣṇucitta travelled in a palanquin arranged by the Sthānika of the temple at Śrīvilliputtūr to Madhura.[160] Calivēndras,where water and other drinks were served free to the pilgrims, facilitated easy travel and relieved the travellers of their exertion and thirst. Contemporary literary works refer to the prapa or the water shed.[161]

It was extremely difficult for the pilgrims to travel to remote places like Kāsi and Gayā especially if they had to pass through the kingdoms of the Muslim rulers. Sikandar Lōḍi, emperor of Delhi,was known to have destroyed Hindu temples, desecrated the images and used them as weighing stones for the sale of meat. He obstructed the Hindu pilgrims from visiting the sacred shrines and tīrthas in the North by torturing and killing most of them. In view of this, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, known to be a protector of Hindu religion and Dharma,led an expedition against Sikandar Lōḍi,defeated him and planted a pillar of victory at Gayā. This victory of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya inspired the subjects of Vijayanagara to travel confidently and cheerfully to the tīrthas in the North. The Gayā inscription of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya dated A.D.1521 proves that the Rāya's expedition to Delhi,which took place between A.D. 1509-1517 according to Dr. N. Veṅkaṭaramanayya,was successful.[162]

The greatness and sanctity of the places of pilgrimage became the theme of many a literary work glorifying them. Among the Telugu works mention should be made of Kāḷahastimahātmyam, Pāṇduraṅgamahātmyam, and Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam. Kāḷahastimahātmyam describes the pre-eminence of Kāḷahasti as a Śaiva Kṣētra and how men and animals by their devotion to Lord Kāḷahastīśvara attained Śiva Sāyujya at Kāḷahasti. The story of the spider, the serpent and the elephant are described in Kāḷahastimahātmyam.[163] Similarly Tinna, a hunter who represented true bhakti with his unimpeachable devotion,and Natkīra,a Śaiva poet who was cursed by Lord Śiva to suffer from leprosy,ultimately attained mukti at Kāḷahasti.[164] Dhūrjaṭi inorder to enlighten the people of Vijayanagara on the importance of the tīrthas described some of the tīrthas while relating the story of Natkīra. Natkīra visited Jaṁbukēśvaram, Aruṇācalam or Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Tiruvattūr, Kaṁci, Simha-Vikramanagaram or Nellore,

Pīthikāpuram or Kukkuṭēśvaram, Siṁhācalam, Śrīkūrmam, Gōkarṇam, Jagaṇṇādham, Krittivāsam, Cuttack, Bhuvanēśvaram, Puṣpagiri, Gaganēśvaram, Gayā and Kāśi.[165] A man attains the merit of visiting the Mount Kailasa on the Himalayas by going to Kāḷahasti in the South which the poet calls the Dakṣina Kailāsa.[166] Śrīnātha's Kāśīkhaṇḍam mainly deals with the greatness of Kāśi. When Agastya had to leave Kāśi with his wife Lōpāmudra in order to punish the unruly Vindhya mountain, he expressed his deep sorrow to be away from Kāśi. He says, according to Śruti, Kāśi was the Kaivalya Lakṣmī.[167] He interprets Kāśi as Vāraṇāśi or Varaṇa and Aśi meaning thereby destroyer of the evils of Saṁsāra and destroyer of evils of the five senses.[168] The importance of Kāśi was so deeply and reverentially felt by the people that Vāraṇāśi was adopted as the personal name of an individual.[169] According to Kāśikhaṇḍam, tīrthas are of two kinds: Bāhya and Abhyantara. Most of the tīrthas are Bāhya. But some of the tīrthas like Kāśi, Śrīśailam, Kēdāra, Ānandavana, resorted to by Pārvatī and Paramaēśvara, are Bāhya and Abhyantara kṣētras. Among the tīrthas Avimukta is the best tīrtha.[170] All the tīrthas south of the Vindhyas were described in Kāśi Khaṇḍam. Drākṣārāma known as Southern Kāśi, Śrīśailam, Prāyaga, Naimiśa, Kurukṣētra, Gaṅgadvāra, Avantika, Ayōdhya, Madhura, Dvāraka, Triyaṁbka, Saptagōdāvari, Gōkarṇa, Puruṣōttama, Badarika, Mahālaya, Ōnkāra, Kaṅci or Kāmakōṭi, interpreted as Light, Māyāpuri, identified as Haridvar, where piṇḍas were offered to the manes were the important tīrthas.[171] By merely visiting Kāśi one attains the merit of performing mahādānas and gifts. If a man lived in Kāśi for some time and happened to die in a far off place, he would acquire the merit of being dead in Kāśi only.[172] Jakkaṇṇa in his Vikramārkacarita mentions Madhura,[173] Śrīśailam,[174] Kāśi, Gayā, Prāyaga, Ēlēśvaram,[175] Nivṛitti,[176] Ahōbilam,[177] Siddhēśvaram, Kāḷahaṣti, Tirumala, Kaṅci, Śrīraṅgam, Kuṁbhakōṇam, Rāmēśvaram, Anantasayanam, Virūpākṣa.[178] Pāṇḍuraṅgamahātmyamu of Tenali Rāmakṛṣṇa was essentially aimed at the glorification of Pandhapur as a centre of pilgrimage which was held dear by the people of Vijayanagara as a result of the cult of Viṭhōba that spread to Vijayanagara empire from Maharastra. According to this work, Pandharpur became famous because of Puṇḍalīka who requested Lord Viṣṇu to make Pandharpur, a prominent tīrtha. Pāṇḍuraṅgamahātmyam describes how a cow, crow, swan, parrot, snake and a bee attained mukti at Pandharpur by doing humble service to Lord Viṭhala in His temple.[179]

Dānas

Dānas or gifts of land, money, cattle, etc., have always been regarded as acts of great religious merit which would secure heaven to the donor. Like the Hindu monarchs of all ages, the Vijayanagara

emperors visited holy places like Cidaṁbaram, Haṁpi, Kāḷahasti, Tirumala, Kaṅci, Śrīsailam, Trivaṇṇāmalai, Hari-Hara, Ahōbilam, Saṅgamam, Śrīraṅgam, Kuṁbhakōṇam, Mahānaṁdi, Nivṛitti, Gōkarṇam and Rāmēśvaram and gave many gifts mentioned in ancient texts.[180] These Dānas have been classified into sixteen kinds called Mahādānas or the great gifts. These have been described at length in Hēmādri's Dānakhaṇḍa in the 12th century. The Mahādānas enumerated as follows:

1. Brahmāṇḍa-dāna	Gift of the universe.
2. Viśvacakra	Gift of the whole kingdom.
3. Ghaṭa	Gift of pots.
4. Mahābhūta	Gift of a vessel of excellent earth.
5. Ratnadhēnu	Gift of cow made of gems.
6. Sapta-Samudra-dāna	Gift of seven seas.
7. Kalpa-Vṛkṣa dāna	Gift of the celestial tree.
8. Kāncana Kāmadhēnu-dāna	Gift of gold cow.
9. Svarṇa-Bhūmi-dāna	Gift of golden piece of land.
10. Hiranyāśva-ratna-dāna	Gift of chariots with gold horses.
11. Tulāpuruṣa-dāna	Gift of gold equal to his weight.
12. Gōsahasra dāna	Gift of thousand cows.
13. Hēmāśva dāna	Gift of golden horses.
14. Hēma-garbha dāna	Gift of Hiranyagarba.
15. Kanaka-kari-ratha dāna	Gift of Chariots with gold elephant.
16. Pañca-lāṅgali-dāna	Gift of five plough shares.[181]

There were special auspicious occasions for making gifts. According to Hēmādri gifts made on such occasions fetched inestimable merit. The movement of Sun's progress to the north and the south on the Uttarāyaṇa-puṇyakāla and Dakṣiṇāyaṇa- puṇyakāla, the occasion of a lunar or solar eclipse, the Ardhōdaya and Mahōdya occasions were considered to be very auspicious occasions for making gifts.[182]

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field was largely left to the women, and also from the fact that the idea of fertility is naturally connected with the female."

Henry White head. The VillageGods of South India, pp.115-16

2. MER,1935-36, 63

3. MER,1912,87

4. MER,1953-54,80.

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6. MER,1928,403; S II,IX, Pt,II 460,470.

7. SII,IX, Pt. II,507.

8. MER, 1956-57, No.60.

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10. Ibid, 68,70.

11. Ibid, 1940-41, Nos. 91-95; S I I, Vol. XVI, 243. In this record Durgāparamēsvari is described as the Sakti of Mullūrigāru in Koṇḍavīdu sīma. S II, Vol. XVI, No.285.

12. Ibid, 1909, No.542.

13. Ibid., 1940-41, No.45,44.

14. Ibid, 1930-40, No.18; Ibid, 1915, Nos. 418, 423; S. II, Vol XVI. Nos.99, 129, 185, 236.

15. PR. Mh, Ch.3, V, 73.

16. MER, 1940-41, No.45

17. Sewell, Forgotten Empire,p. 255

18. Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya, The Third Dynasty, p.336.

19. Kd. Rm. V. 131-33.

20. A long pole was planted in the earth at the end of which was fixed a round stone with a hole passed through the pole. On the stone was placed a beam which rotated round it and an iron hook hung from the beam. S. Pratapa Reddy, SocialHistory of the Andhras, p. 259.

21. Pr. Mh, Ch.3, VV, 73-79.

22. Sv. Mh, Ch.III. V, 92, 98, 100,101,103,104.

23. Ibid.,V.108.

24. E.C. XII, p. 72.

25. Ch. 1,V.141.

26. Various stories are current regarding the birth of the Mātrkās. According to Suprabhedagama, the Seven Mātrkās were created by Brahmā for the purpose of killing Niṛṛita. The Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa narrates that these were born from Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Skanda and Indra, at the time of killing Sumbha and Nisuṁbha or Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa. Almost all the Vijayanagara temples contain sculptural representations of the Saptamātrkās. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, E.H.I,I,II, pp, 382-383, 379 ff.

27. Kd. Rm V: 137-139.

28. S. Pratapa Reddy, Social History of the Andhras, p.333.

29. S. Pratapa Reddy, Social History of the Andhras, p.318.

30. S.I.I. Vol. XVI,No.124.

31. The nāgas are believed to have been born on the pancami tithi of the bright half of the month Śrāvaṇa. T.Gopinatha Rao, E.H.I.,Vol. II, Pt. 11, p.555: Sv. Mh. Ch. IV. V. 25.

32. Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, Fig.8.

33. Ibid.,Fig.9.

34. T. Gopinatha Rao, E.H.I. Vol. II, Pt. 11, p. 556.

35. E.C.III, Ml. 22, Introduction, p.21.

36. K1, Pr. Ch. VI, V.43; Sm. Dv. Ch. IV. V. 51 Bh. Rj. Ch. V. V. 249. Siditale or Sidetale - gōḍu means offering the springing head . My. Arch Rep, 1911, pp; 8-9.
Ibid, 1909, p.5

37. My Arch. Rep. 1911, pp. 8-9, Ibid.,1909, p.5

38. Major, India in the Fifteenth Century, p. 27-28.

39. K.A.N. Sastri, Foreign Notices, p. 197.

40. Ibid., p.217

41. Sm. Dv. 1. IV. V..17.

42. MER, 1915, No.20.

43. MER, 1915, Para 15.

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45. Pālkuriki Sōmanātha, Basavapurāṇam, Ch. VI, pp. 171-73.

46. E. Thurston,Castes and Tribes of the Madras Presidency, Vol. VII, p.410.

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48. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire,p.82

49. E.C. VII, Sk. 302, H1.92; Ibid.,XI, Dg. 116, 117; Ibid.,VIII, Sb. 483, 25, 134, 158, 484, 106, 104, A, 8.]

50. Ibid.,VIII, Sb. 106.

51. P.V. Kane, History of Dharma Śāstra, Vol. II, Part I, p. 631

52. Barbosa, I, pp, 213-16.

53. Sewell, ForgottenEmpire, pp, 372-73

54. Purchas, His Pilgrims, X, pp, 94-96.

55. Sewell, Forgotten Empire, p, 82.

56. Ibid.,p. 216-215.

57. Purchas, His Pilgrims, X, pp. 94-96.

58. E.C. VIII, Sb. 165.

59. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 373.

60. Barbosa, I, pp, 218-9.

61. E.C. VII, Sk. 93.

62. The hand is raised with fingers erect and a lime fruit placed between the thumb and forefinger. This is referred to in the inscriptions as tōḷu-kayi "have given arm and hand". E.C. III. Md. 103.

63. Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, Fig. 11.

64. Longhurst, Hampi Ruins,Fig. 12.

65. Sewell,A Forgotten Empire,p. 82.

66. Barbosa, I. pp 220-2.

67. My Arch. Rep. 1910, p.5.

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69. Sm. Dv. 11. VIII, V. 51.

70. E.C. IX. Cp. 162.

71. Ibid,,Vol. IV, Ng. 61.

72. Ibid.,HS.114.

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76. MER, 1909, Para 73.

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83. Ka. Kh. pp. 182-196.

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87. Garudapurāṇa 1. 124-11-23; Tithitatva, p. 127; Dharmasindhu, p. 127. The twelve names of Śiva are Śiva, Rudra, Pāsupati, Nīlakaṇṭha, Mahēśvara, Harikēśa, Virūpākṣa, Pinākini, Tripurāntaka, Śambhu, Sulini, Mahādēva.

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